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IN SEARCH OF BREAD, KNOWLEDGE, AND FREEDOM: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING CLASS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, 1780-1832

by

© MAX INNES

A THESIS

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IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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IN
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The Undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled IN SEARCH OF BREAD, KNOWLEDGE, AND FREEDOM: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING CLASS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, 1780 - 1832 submitted by Max Innes in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

....
Supervisor

Arthur K. Davis

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Date February 22, 1977

ABSTRACT

In its most general terms, the study is an example of the general proposition that education is a political activity. More specifically, the study sets out to locate, describe, and explain the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education during the period 1780-1832; and situate these concerns within a socio-historical context, relating them to major techno-economic, socio-political, and ideological conditions. In examining these concerns the study focuses on two important areas of enquiry in the sociology of education that have received relatively little attention. First, it examines the structural relations of education with other social institutions; and second, it emphasizes the inter-relation of social and political circumstances, class interests, and educational theory and practice.

Any study, whether it is historical or contemporary, theoretical or empirical, must come to terms with the problem of interpretation. Having briefly discussed the main concerns of the thesis in the introduction, I consider this problem, and the discussion provides a basis for the theoretical underpinnings and methodology of the study.

Next, the techno-economic base of industrializing Britain is discussed together with a consideration of how

such material conditions become evident in the social relations of production—the social differentiation patterns of industrializing society and their attendant ideologies.

Education is then discussed as a particular example of the ideology of industrializing Britain. It is viewed in two conflicting roles: first, as an agent of social control and, second, as a potential arena for those who resist and seek to change the existing social order. A consideration of the standard of schooling and literacy among the working class of industrializing England follows. This leads to a discussion of socio-political radicalism and its contribution to the ideology of early working-class education.

Finally, working-class education is considered during the turbulent years of 1815-1832 together with its relation to various political movements and figures. The concluding chapter draws together the findings of the previous chapters, and highlights some of the major influences and characteristics that the study has revealed, and suggests some future areas of study. In particular, the chapter describes the characteristics of early working-class education, identified in this study, arising from: the reaction against the dominant educational ideology; the influence of radicalism; the tradition of self-help; the Mutual Improvement Societies; the Corresponding Societies; the Hampden Clubs; the radical press; the Mechanics' Institutes; and Owenism. The following influences are identified as areas for future study: primitive methodism, the development of labour groups and their evolution into workers associations, and popular culture.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION

> It is not only that the way in which education is organised can be seen to express, consciously and unconsciously, the wider organization of a culture and a society, so that what has been thought of as a simple distribution is in fact an active shaping to particular social ends. It is also that the content of education, which is subject to great historical variation, again expresses, again both consciously and unconsciously, certain basic elements in the culture, what is thought of as "an education" being in fact a particular selection, a particular set of emphases and omissions.
>
> Raymond Williams,
> The Long Revolution,
> 1965, p. 145.

INTRODUCTION

Education is fundamental to the structure and process of society. As well as playing its part in the more obvious roles of acculturation, socialization, vocational preparation, and the training of an intelligensia, education can be shown to be concerned with the processes of social control and social change.[1]

By definition education changes those who are educated. But such change is controlled. Whether education is planned in such a way that it attempts to preserve the status quo, or whether it is formulated so that it encourages criticism and change of the existing social order, the process must be controlled if rational development is to be the outcome. Who controls education and what means they use to control it are crucial issues.

In education it is possible to view the struggles of those who seek to perpetuate and those who seek to change the existing social order of which education is a part. Seen in this light, it is evident that education is based on particular normative assumptions which, in turn, are premised on philosophical propositions about the nature of humanity, the nature of society, and the relationship between humanity and society. These assumptions and propositions become political when they are realized in a practical setting.

Education, then, is a political activity and this socio-historical study is intended to illustrate this basic premise by examining the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education during a period when the working class were beginning to assume an identity. The educational activities of the working class will be situated within a socio-historical context and related to the major techno-economic, social, and ideological issues of the period.

STUDIES OF EDUCATION DURING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: A SELECTED REVIEW

Education, like most movements during the Industrial Revolution, has an extensive literature. As well as the conventional histories of education (Adamson, 1964; Armytage, 1964; Archer, 1921; Barnard, 1961; Curtis, 1967; Smith, 1931), which include accounts of formal education during the period, there have been many studies concerning particular aspects of the education of the time. Education has been considered in relation to Church and State (Murphy, 1971), and in relation to the social and political movements occurring during the Industrial Revolution (Simon, 1974; Dobbs, 1919). The significance of Methodism to the education of the people has been examined (Mathews, 1949), and the growth and development of literacy has been documented (Altick, 1957; Nueberg, 1971).

Jones has provided a picture of the charity school movement (Jones, 1938), Bennet has given an account of manual and industrial education (Bennet, 1926), and Mack has shown the relationship between the public schools and British opinion (Mack, 1938). Harrison and Kelly have described the adult education movement of the period (Harrison, 1961; Kelly, 1962), and Stewart has provided an account of the progressive educational thought and practice of the day (Stewart, 1972). Silver has considered the meaning and practice of popular education as it developed during the Industrial Revolution (Silver, 1965), and has shown the influence of Radicalism on education during the same period (Silver, 1975). Pollard and Judges have documented the pioneers of popular education (Pollard, 1956; Judges, 1952), and Simon has collected together some of the key writings of the Radical Tradition in education in England at the time (Simon, 1972). West has questioned the common assumption that the Industrial Revolution was a time of stagnation for education in England (West, 1975), and Vaughan and Archer in a comparative study of France and England, question a number of well-known propositions regarding the relationship of industrialization and education (Vaughan and Archer, 1971).

It is evident that there has been no lack of studies relating to education in Britain during the Industrial Revolution. However, although attention has been directed at "the education of the people" and "popular education," there has been no study devoted to an attempt to identify the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education. Only a few of the studies mentioned go some part of the way to accomplishing such a task. Brian Simon's study is particularly important in this regard, and it has provided an important basis for the present study.

Brian Simon, in The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870, traces the attitudes of the emerging social classes, and shows how these attitudes were expressed in the educational outlook, policies and practice of the day. He shows that prior to the French Revolution there were social developments in England which gave rise to new ideas in social and political thought, and encouraged the development of alternative educational theory and practice. The advancement of science became associated in the later years of the eighteenth century with industrial expansion, political reform, and liberal theology which, together, were able to support an optimistic and progressive outlook. As Simon comments, "The educational standpoint of those who had direct links with science and industry could at this stage comprehend a broad humanity together with a positive scientific outlook." At this time, then, those most concerned with advancing science and with social and political reform, the forward-thinking, so to speak, " . . . were able to evolve a rational, moral, human, and cohesive educational theory."

The political reaction following the French Revolution changed the focus of this thinking. The immediate effect of this on the middle class was to put it on the defensive, but, as confidence was regained, the initial retreat was soon converted into a new drive for political and social reform.

This renewed offensive had the more specific and limited objective of acquiring political rights. On the one hand, the middle class became involved in a struggle against the landed aristocracy while, on the other, it had to contend with the growing significance of the emerging proletariat. "In these conditions," writes Simon, "the educational tradition of the late eighteenth century took a new form, tending towards a narrower utilitarianism and having, to some extent, an abstract doctrinaire quality."[2]

Simon proceeds to a consideration of the particular concerns of the middle class, first, in terms of their own educational requirements, and second, in terms of their ideas, policies and practices regarding the education of workers. These concerns—including the criticisms of the old institutions, the new theoretical developments, and the attempts to provide for new needs—are juxtaposed in Simon's account with the movement for Parliamentary reform, and the general struggle for political power. The concerns of the working class are then taken up and Simon shows that its leaders, in turn, criticized, theorized, and set up alternative educational movements. As a result of the developments, "education became divided against itself."[3] Reviewing the early developments in working class education Simon writes;

> Thus, by the early 1830s, working-class leaders had become convinced of the imperative need for knowledge as a means to effective political action and eventual social transformation. First in the Corresponding Societies and later in the mass movements of 1815-19, they had begun to link systematic education with political agitation designed to bring about social and

> economic change. In the latter period the education of children was seen as an essential part of this movement—an education in science and reason as opposed to the incalcation of particular religious creeds and dogmas.[4]

Harold Silver's The Concept of Popular Education, a study in the history of ideas, has also been an important source for the present study. It examines developments in attitudes towards the education of the people during the period 1790-1840. Beginning with "the assumptions and practices of the eighteenth century" the study proceeds to examine "the rise to prominence of alternative views of society and human nature, and their relevance to the growth of popular movements."[5]

During the latter years of the eighteenth century modern concepts of popular education, together with those of political democracy erupted onto the British social scene. The influence of the French Revolution, the effects of increasing industrialization, and the activities of the people and movements concerned with the radical regeneration of British politics and society, all helped to focus attention on some of the rationalist assumptions of a previous generation.[6]

Silver's study traces the transition from the predominant acceptance among all classes of the kind of ordered, structured society, that was taken for granted, to the conviction, among the emerging working class, of the possibility of acting and educating against the status quo.[7] Silver argues that, by the 1830s, the pattern of social and political thought and alignments had been entirely recast. Silver's analysis of the range of opinion shows, in terms of attitudes to education, what had been the dynamic of ideological and social change in roughly half the century beginning with the French Revolution. The present study considers the various forms of education available to the working class that helped to make this dynamic of ideological and social change possible.

THE STRUCTURAL RELATIONS OF EDUCATION TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS: A NEGLECTED PROBLEM IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Vaughan and Archer indicate that the structural relations of education with other social institutions, and the factors leading to change in these relations constitute one of the most neglected problems in the field of education.[8] More recently Michael F. D. Young has voiced a similar but more specific opinion. Young writes:

> A detailed historical study of the social composition of the groups involved and the social and political circumstances in which their educational ideas developed and influenced "educational practice" would make an important contribution to our understanding of the origins, persistence and change of educational ideologies.[9]

While the present study cannot make claims to such a comprehensive study as that suggested above, it does concern itself with issues that are in keeping with those Young considers important.

Vaughan and Archer forward a comparative study of England and France during the period 1789-1848 as a contribution to the neglected area of the structural relations of education with other social institutions. They begin by querying three common assumptions that have been made by sociologists studying the relationship of education and other institutions at the time:

1) That a strict pre-industrial and post-industrial dichotomy corresponds to simple and complex structural relations involving education;
2) That some aspect of the industrialization process itself accounts for the transition from simplicity to complexity; and,
3) That since integration with the economy involved removing education from the control of the Church, the processes of industrialization and institutional secularization are necessarily viewed as concurrent.[10]

The writers reject theories which accept any one of the above assumptions and, instead, suggest that a theory capable of interpreting educational change in England and France during the period of industrialization must be able to account for the occurrence of institutional secularization unrelated to economic development. They maintain that in neither country did the economic infrastructure appear to have determined the institutional change. In their words;

> The rapid pace of industrialisation in England with the accompanying economic ascendancy of the middle class was not matched by a corresponding set of educational reforms which would have rendered access, structure and content more consistent with the requirements of this class.[11]

Vaughan and Archer claim that an appropriate theory should be able to take account of profound educational conflict without either assimilating the parties involved into conflicting social classes, or attributing to the ideas involved some order of ascendancy and subordination according to social needs.[12] They propose that the essential aspect of educational change is to be found in conflict between groups and ideas;

> As groups compete for domination either in society or over an institution, so their ideas clash and any universally accepted ethic merely represents the outcome of past struggles.[13]

The successful domination of education, they suggest, will be supported by constraints and be legitimized by ideology.

The approach taken in the present study supports Vaughan and Archer's position on the three assumptions regarding the relationship of education to other institutions, but differs markedly from their position in other respects. Vaughan and Archer overlook the question of why groups compete for domination in institutions and society. They reject a theory that proposes that educational conflict arises from class conflict or social need, yet offer no real alternative. While they propose that an essential aspect of educational change is to be found in the conflict between groups and ideas, they have little to say about the origins of this conflict. The present study suggests that a major factor influencing education and instigating educational change during the period under consideration was class oriented. In particular, the study examines the educational activities available to a specific class—the working class—and their attempts to realize class interests through education.

It will be one of the objectives of this study to demonstrate that it is the interplay of economic factors and ideological factors that give rise to particular developments in the process of education. Institutional change at the level of ideas cannot be divorced from ecomonic factors as Vaughan and Archer claim. Neither religious nor secular movements are independent of the prevailing material and economic conditions.

THE RESTRICTED VIEW OF EDUCATION OF CONVENTIONAL HISTORIES: SOME IMPLICATIONS

Vaughan and Archer's claim regarding the lack of interest between the economic ascendency of the middle class and educational reform, which would be in keeping with these interests, is based on a limited conceptualization of education. They assume that the growth of education is linked to the growth of centralized political control of education. Vaughan and Archer have accepted the accounts of education of conventional histories which, as West has observed, "lead on to the belief that no substantial progress could have occurred without legislation."[14] Silver has expressed the wider concerns of education during the period 1780-1832:

> In addition to the various kinds of endowed and charity schools which existed in the late eighteenth century, as well as the universities and academies, this period saw the emergence of new educational ideas and objectives, the educational impact of political organisations

> and publications, new forms of the dissemination of knowledge and of intellectual discussion and debate. It is an essential part of the argument, therefore, to see not only the existence or the emergence of educational institutions, but also the profound impact of new political and social forces, the appearance of new pressures for education in its broadest sense.[15]

In accepting this more comprehensive notion of education it becomes possible to show how the middle class, who achieved some measure of political recognition with the Reform Act of 1832, were reforming education in keeping with their own interests as Simon has shown.

Vaughan and Archer's limited view of education, as well as denying middle-class advances in education which matched their economic success, denies the development of any independent working-class education;

> At the end of the eighteenth century very little independent educational activity can be attributed to the working class, which—to form its own ideology—has first to free itself from the ideas thrust upon it by the Anglican church and the middle class. Until 1832 its support was largely given to the reformist aims of the latter, despite certain theoretical reservations which were the embryo of subsequent Chartist ideas.[16]

But, as Thompson has suggested, the period 1780-1832 was a crucial period in the development of a working-class consciousness.[17] Another objective of this study, then, will be to demonstrate the richness and variety of the educational activity which supported the development of this consciousness.

"UNILATERAL DETERMINISM": A LIMITED INTERPRETATION OF MARXIST THEORY

Vaughan and Archer present a critique of a Marxist conflict theory of education and, as the present study is premised on "technical norms" basic to the Marxist approach, it is important to review the comments that they make.[18] The writers summarize Marxist theory accounting for the development of educational institutions in three interrelated propositions;

1) educational institutions are part of the superstructure which reflects the economic infrastructure;
2) therefore educational ideals and philosophies reflect economic interests;
3) since economic conflict is represented by conflict between classes, so educational conflict is merely an aspect of the general class conflict.[19]

I shall show in the following chapter that the economic determinist perspective of Marxism, on which the writers base their three propositions, and which they call a "unilateral determinism," is a limited interpretation of Marxist theory. Educational institutions both reflect and affect the economic infrastructure—the process is two-way. Educational ideas and philosophies are created, or resurrected, by individuals or groups who have particular economic interests—interests which are basic to their continued existence. Consequently, it is to be expected that educational ideas and philosophies will reflect economic interests. However, once these ideas are implemented, they begin to take on new forms as a result of their modification in the light of practice, and as a result of their conflict with other ideas.[20] Because of the consequences of their implementation, these ideas may turn back on themselves and begin to affect the economic infrastructure.

Turning to Vaughan and Archer's third proposition, education is an important aspect of the general class conflict, and the recognition that education plays an important role in maintaining existing class relations is a significant observation. The class affiliations of various forms of education will be an implicit concern of the present study.

In their criticism of Marxist theory Vaughan and Archer claim that the postulate that education belongs to the superstructure renders educational ideas and debates illusory. Marx's sociology of knowledge, they suggest, leads to ideological relativism, and precludes both the truth content of ideas and their efficacy, since they are denied the character of independent variables. The writers correctly indicate that Marx was committed to a sociology of knowledge based on the assumption that it is not men's consciousness that determines reality, but rather social reality that shapes their consciousness. But they go on to develop an unwarranted corollary which states; "the ideas, classifications and theories developed by any group are merely reflective of the social relations they express."[21] The point to note is that social reality shapes (not determines) consciousness. The ideas, classifications and theories developed by particular groups are influenced by other factors and are not "merely reflective of the social relations they express." One can accept the statement that "The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas," without accepting that all ideas are "merely reflective of the social relations they express."

The truth content of ideas is not independent of social reality, and while it may be claimed that the concept of truth has a lengthy historical lineage which supports its credibility, the concept itself is not free of ideological implications. The Weltanschaaung possessed by each class by virtue of its situation in relation to the forces and relations of production continue to exist while human interests are fragmented by class conflict. Vaughan and Archer's claim that complete relativism is only avoided by "endowing proletarian ideology with an exclusive prerogative of truly representing reality" is misleading. What is distinctive about the Marxist perspective is that it maintains that only in recognizing the interests of the proletariat is there the opportunity of creating an ideology that could represent "universal" interests.

It is possible to agree with Vaughan and Archer and accept that some knowledge is "universal"—that is to say, not all ideas are restricted to the class from which they originate—for it is the way that ideas are put together, the way that some ideas float to the top, while others sink, or are pushed, to the bottom, that characterizes the accepted body of knowledge of the day. It is this body of knowledge, and the way that it is formulated, rather than particular ideas (which may well have universal significance) that determines the class bias of ruling-class ideas.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study sets out to locate, describe and explain the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education during the period 1780-1832. These concerns are located within a socio-historical context and related to the major techno-economic, social, and ideological circumstances of the period.

In examining this topic, the study focuses on two important areas in the sociology of education that have received relatively little attention;

1) the structural relations of education with other social institutions, and
2) the inter-relationship of techno-economic, social, and ideological circumstances, and educational theory and practice.

In the course of pursuing these themes a number of subsidiary objectives have developed:

1) To demonstrate that the educational activities of the working class during the period 1780-1832 were closely related to their attempts to realize class interests. Working-class educational activities and politics were closely connected.
2) To demonstrate that the educational activities of the

working-class arose out of particular material conditions and economic circumstances but, at the same time, to show that the ideas which provided the impetus for these educational activities were the product of different circumstances and often from another era. There was no straightforward deterministic relationship between the material conditions and economic circumstances of the working class in England during the period 1780-1832, and their educational ideology. Instead, an interplay of the material, economic, and ideological factors gave rise to the particular developments that occurred at the time.

3) To demonstrate the political attitudes of the ruling class and the middle class as they made themselves apparent in
    a) attitudes towards the education of members of their own class; and
    b) attitudes towards the education of members of the working class.
4) To focus on two crucial aspects of education; education for control and education for change.

To the extent that the study succeeds in fulfilling these objectives it will accomplish a number of additional purposes:

1) It will support Simon's contention that the attitudes of changing social classes were expressed in the educational outlook and policies of the day;

2) It will refute Vaughan and Archer's predominantly ideological interpretation of educational change in England during the period 1780-1832;

3) It will demonstrate that Vaughan and Archer's economic determinist perspective of Marxism, which they call "unilateral determinism," is a limited interpretation and show, instead, that Marxist epistemology and dialectical methodology is an effective way of analyzing the relationship between education and other institutions.

4) It will go some way towards Young's requirement that detailed historical studies, examining the educational ideas of particular groups and the social and political circumstances in which these ideas developed and influenced "educational practice," should be conducted to aid our understanding of the origins, persistence, and change of educational ideologies.

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The thesis, as well as being a study of the origins, development, and characteristics of education during the Industrial Revolution, represents an attempt to come to terms with a particular theoretical perspective as a basis for inquiry, and a particular methodological approach as a tool of analysis. The theoretical and methodological concerns are discussed specifically in the early part of the study, but the working-out of these concerns is evident throughout. The study is organized according to the following plan.

In this first chapter, THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION, the main themes that prompted the study are introduced, a rationale for the topic is presented, and the objectives of the thesis are outlined.

Chapter Two, THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS, begins by considering the problem of interpretation that always confronts the sociologist, whether he is dealing with face-to-face interaction or historical evidence. The interpretation of "empiricist" and "pessimist" are examined as two approaches to the analysis of evidence concerning the Industrial Revolution.

Next, three issues central to the problem of interpretation—ethical neutrality, the metatheoretical and theoretical bases of enquiry, and scientific explanations—are briefly considered. This leads to a statement regarding the metatheoretical and theoretical bases of the study, and a consideration of methodological and conceptual issues.

Chapter Three, THE TECHNO-ECONOMIC BASE OF INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN, provides an account of the material conditions of industrializing Britain, the details of which are necessary for any serious consideration of education during the period.

Chapter Four, STRATIFICATION, CLASS, AND IDEOLOGY IN INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN, emphasizes that the Industrial Revolution was a social as well as a technological revolution. The process of industrialization re-organized social stratification and produced a new level of human consciousness. Four classes together with their characteristic ideologies are identified and described; "upper class" (hierarchical ideology), "middle class" (entrepreneurial ideology), "middling class" (meritocratic ideology), and "working class" (egalitarian ideology).

Chapter Five, EDUCATION—AN ELEMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY OF INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN, focuses on the recognition that education represents a process in which the interests of the State and the individual intersect. While education is one of the means by which the individual comes to terms with his world, it also has important social implications. The formal process of education aids the reproduction of the existing social relations and material conditions of production. In this light, education is to be recognized as a contributing agent of social control and social selection.

As well as providing an effective medium through which to maintain the status quo, education may also provide an arena for those who resist and seek to change the existing social order. The competing "Classical-Christian" and "Natural-Scientific" approaches to education, that are discussed in this chapter, illustrate these alternative uses to which education may be put.

Chapter Six, THE STANDARD OF SCHOOLING AND LITERACY AMONG THE WORKING CLASS IN INDUSTRIALIZING ENGLAND, presents evidence which questions the conclusions of conventional histories of education that suggest low standards of schooling and literacy among the working class during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Chapter Seven, SOCIO-POLITICAL RADICALISM AND THE IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION, considers the significance of political radicalism to education. Two broad categories of radicalism—moderate reformists and constitutional reformists—are described; categories which, in time, were to become distinguishable as middle-class and working-class radicalism respectively. Writers such as Paine and Godwin provided the vision of a political climate in which a radical theory of education could develop. Some of the characteristics of the "radical tradition" of education are described, and their connection with working-class movements like mutual improvement societies and corresponding societies is discussed.

Chapter Eight, WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION, 1815-1832; PROTEST, REPRESSION, AND THE "SILENT REVOLUTION," describes the informal education available to the working class during these years of political turmoil. Economic catastrophies exaggerated the insecurities of the agricultural and industrial workers and, thus, heightened the discontent and developing consciousness of the working class.

Various activities of the radical education tradition provided a seedbed for the development of ideas and leaders that were to become fundamental to working-class consciousness and working-class education. The Hampden Clubs and Political Protestant Unions for Parliamentary Reform, though more middle class in their focus than the Corresponding

Societies on which they were modelled, provided an organized setting in which some members of the working class acquainted themselves with contemporary political discussions. The Radical Press provided a spectrum of radical dissent which ranged from conservative past-oriented interpretors, like Cobbett, to "industrial socialists," like Owen, and agrarian socialists, like the Spencians. The Mechanics Institutes, as conceived by Roberts and Hodgskin, were an exciting attempt to institute a system of working-class education throughout Britain. Unfortunately, their development fell into the hands of philanthropic, middle-class radicals and soon became oriented to the interests of the middle class. Finally, in this chapter, I look at the work of Robert Owen at New Lanark, and consider his theory and practice of education in relation to working-class education.

Chapter Nine, THE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION, 1780-1832, draws together the findings of the previous chapters and highlights some of the major influences and characteristics that the study has revealed. Finally, I mention some important areas that have not been considered in this study, and suggest starting points for future study.

SUMMARY

In its most general terms, the study is an example of the general proposition that education is a political activity. More specifically, the study sets out to locate, describe, and explain the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education during the period 1780-1832; and situate these concerns within a sociohistorical context, relating them to major techno-economic, social, and ideological circumstances.

In examining this topic the study focuses on two important areas of enquiry in the sociology of education that have received relatively little attention. First, it examines the structural relations of education with other social institutions; and second, it emphasizes the interrelation of social and political circumstances, class interests, and educational theory and practice.

NOTES

[1] Education is too often interpretted as meaning schooling. In this study the concept of education is used in a much more general sense. Ralph Ruddock gives some idea of the scope of an area of study concerned with the social significance of education when he writes;

> "Today an area calling itself 'The Sociology of Education' as well as attending to the sociology of the school and the curriculum, should include vocational and professional in-service training, courses for the training of mature social workers, residential courses, group experience, further education, leisure-time courses for personal development or recreational interests, correspondence courses, youth work training, theological studies, health and political education. Such a wide range requires a conceptual framework of great breadth and flexibility" (R. Ruddock, Sociological Perspectives on Adult Education, 1972, p. iii).

To Ruddock's list should be added the important subject area of the relationship of education to politico-economic systems.

[2] B. Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, 1974, p. 70.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 221.

[5] H. Silver, The Concept of Popular Education, 1965, p. 15.

[6] The rationalism of the seventeenth century could be described as secular in its emphasis, natural in its focus, scientific in its models, mathematical in its methods, individualistic in its criticisms, and lawful in its constructions. (See F. Gilbert, ed., The Norton History of Modern Europe, 1971, pp. 551-652).

[7] See H. Silver, op. cit., p. 201.

[8] M. Vaughan and M. S. Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, 1971, p. 2.

[9] M. F. D. Young, "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organised Knowledge" in Knowledge and Control, 1971, p. 41n.

[10] M. Vaughan and M. S. Archer, op. cit., p. 2.

[11] Ibid., p. 14.

[12] Ibid., p. 16.

[13] Ibid., p. 21.

[14] E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 1975, p. 6.

[15] H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850, 1975, p. 5.

[16] M. Vaughan and M. S. Archer, op. cit., p. 42.

[17] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 1972.

[18] For a discussion of the term "technical norms" see Chapter Two.

[19] M. Vaughan and M. S. Archer, op. cit., p. 10.

[20] Isaiah Berlin's concluding statement in his study of the life of Karl Marx is instructive in this respect. Of Marx's work he writes;

> "It set out to refute the proposition that ideas decisively determine the course of history, but the very extent of its own influence on human affairs has weakened the force of the thesis. For in altering the hitherto prevailing view of the relation of the individual to his environment and to his fellows, it has palpably altered that relation itself; and in consequence remains the most powerful among the intellectual forces which are today permanently transforming the ways in which men act and think."

But on this subject note also Engel's letter to Mehring;

> "Otherwise only one more point is lacking, which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, we all laid, and were bound to lay, the main emphasis, in the first place, on the derivation of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in so doing we neglected the formal side—the ways and means by which these notions etc., come about—for the sake of content. This has given our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings and distortions, of which Paul Barth is a striking example" (F. Engels to F. Mehring, July 14, 1893 in K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, 1968, p. 700).

[21] M. Vaughan and M. S. Archer, op. cit., p. 11.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

> The general result at which I arrived and which, once won, served as a guiding thread for my studies, can be briefly formulated as follows: In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production, which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution.
>
> Karl Marx, Preface to The Critique of Political Economy in K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, 1968, p. 182.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION

The problem of interpretation cannot be ignored in this study. The conditions and events preceding and accompanying the Industrial Revolution in England, and the changes that occurred as a result of them, have attracted the attention of numerous historians and sociologists. Each one of these social researchers has had his own reason for examining the period, his own preoccupation for certain events, and his own particular ideological and theoretical background which he brings to his work.

Some researchers, it appears, would like to assume the role of "value-free clinical investigators," who attempt to describe and explain from a detached position. It is as if it were just a matter of "scrubbing up" before the operation—in this case, that of extracting the appropriate organs of information to support the case being made. Unfortunately, the preparation is often not taken seriously; few researchers are prepared to consider what factors might "infect" their conceptualization of the problem, their methods of enquiry, their collection of data, their interpretation and analysis of data, and their final conclusions. To put it positively, investigators should at least be aware of the base from which they examine a problem, and make the assumptions of their investigation explicit.

Other researchers, rejecting the role of "clinical investigator," wave the colours of a "committed crusader," and the flag sometimes gets in the way of the task of being a historian or a sociologist. Admittedly, these are simplified sketches of two extreme viewpoints but they contain basic features of two main thrusts of societal enquiry.

The task of constructing a reliable account of a particular aspect of the Industrial Revolution is plagued by problems connected with the reliability of information, and difficulties of interpretation. Questions concerning the increase of the population, the migration of the labour force, standards of living and quality of life, the emergence of the working class, and the costs of industrialization, to name a few of the more obvious, are highly problematic. It will obviously not be possible to consider these issues in any detail, but it will be important to come to a decision about matters relating to them. Such a decision cannot be arbitrary for it will reflect the metatheoretical assumptions of the writer. If such decisions were routinely made known, then many of the irrelevances of scholarship—such as; the extended debates about what a particular writer intended when he used this or that concept, the inadequacies of certain aspects of one interpretation when compared to those of another, or the merit of one or another set of statistics—might be reduced.[1]

This is not to say that discussions relating to different interpretations, concepts, or sets of statistics are unimportant; on the contrary, they are of the utmost importance. However, their importance is connected with their integration with the general position being advanced, and with their relationship to the metatheoretical assumptions that underlie the whole project. Thus, it becomes important to be aware of ideological considerations as well as with the theoretical paradigm within which the concepts and propositions are articulated. It is only within the general framework of a specific theory and metatheory that particularities can be assessed accurately and legitimately, for criticisms of particular aspects of the account from another perspective may not even be apparent, let alone a challenge, to the theory under consideration. However, it is conceivable that one theory and its underlying metatheory could be assessed in relation to another and its metatheory if a common ground of assessment could be agreed upon.[2] It will be helpful at this stage to move onto a more concrete discussion of the problem that relates directly to the subject of this study.

The Hammonds' study The Town Labourer, may be cited as one of the "crusader approaches" that has been referred to.[3] Such a comment is meant neither to belittle its standing as a significant contribution to historical research, nor to underestimate its substantive content but, rather, to locate it in the general context in which it was written. The following passage gives some indication of the tenor and the intensity of the Hammonds' position;

> The social system produced by the Industrial Revolution reflected the spirit that we may describe as a spirit of complacent pessimism, and this spirit has done more than any event in English history to create the "two nations" of which Disraeli used to speak. Unity is only possible in a society which pursues a common aim, in which all men and women have a recognised and equal

> share. Such an aim must have some relation to human qualities and human needs. This age has taken for its aim the accumulation of economic power, and its guiding philosophy was a dividing force, because it regarded men and women not as citizens but as servants of that power. If the needs of that power seemed to conflict with the needs of human nature, human nature had to suffer. In its extreme form the theory made the mass of the nation cannon-fodder of industry.[4]

An examination of the passage reveals that, at least in principle, a number of the claims made are open to empirical support or falsification. For example, while it may be difficult to agree upon what would constitute "a spirit of complacent pessimism," it should be possible to decide whether the social system produced by the Industrial Revolution resulted in a more divided or more united nation; though, of course, the answer to such a question hinges on the criteria of a united or divided nation. The second and third sentences are statements of belief relating to the opening sentence, in which a relationship is assumed between a common aim, unity and equality. Next, there is a sentence that serves two purposes: first, it serves as a rationalization of the previous belief statement and, second, it introduces a related testable proposition—that the predominant concern of the age was the accumulation of economic power. There follows another testable proposition which, slightly modified, suggests that when human interests conflict with the interests of economic power, the latter takes preference. The quotation ends with an emotional rider which leaves the reader in no doubt about the Hammonds' own persuasion.

It would be possible to go through the entire text in this way, extracting propositions, and then going on to see to what extent the evidence supplied by the Hammonds supported the propositions. The writers did not present their material in this way. Their moral indignation over what they discovered, and their assumptions about, and prescriptions for, a better society were presented as part and parcel of their historical findings. In the words of one recent commentator;

> The Town Labourer is a passionate and committed book, the classic presentation on what has come to be known as the pessimist case on the Industrial Revolution, the grand denunciation featuring all the villains unequivically denounced, the capitalist owners of factories and mines, the politicians such as Pitt and Wilberforce who collaborated with them.[5]

While it is legitimate to object to the way in which the Hammonds decided to present their findings, it is not legitimate to reject their findings on these grounds.

Just as there are those who emphasize the hardship and injustice resulting from the Industrial Revolution,[6] so there are others who direct our attention to its positive aspects;[7]

> The very claims and ambitions of the working classes were and are the result of the enormous improvement of their position which capitalism brought about. There were, no doubt, many people whose privileged position, whose power to secure a comfortable income by preventing others from doing better what they were being paid for, was destroyed by the advance of freedom of enterprise. There may be various other grounds on which the development of modern industrialism might be deplored by some; certain aesthetic and moral values to which the privileged upper classes attached great importance were no doubt endangered by it. Some people might even question whether the rapid increase of population, or, in other words, the decrease in infant mortality, was a blessing. But if, and in so far as, one takes as one's

> test the effect on the standard of life of the large number of the toiling classes, there can be little doubt that this effect was to produce a general upward trend.[8]

The writings of social researchers whose sympathy with the poor leads to a "crusader approach," together with those whose sympathy rests with the capitalist entrepreneur present problems for those who follow. For example, in considering the question of the standard of living of the day there are two aspects of the problem.[9] First, there is the difficulty of constructing wage series, price series, and statistical indicies from evidence which is abundant but incomplete. Second, there is the problem of matching qualitative factors with quantitative factors; the term "standard" leads from data amenable to statistical measurement (wages or articles of consumption) to those satisfactions which are sometimes described by statisticians as "imponderables";[10]

> From food we are led to homes, from homes to health, from health to family life, and thence to leisure, work-discipline, education and play, intensity of labour, and so on. From standard-of-life we pass to way of life. But the two are not the same. The first is a measurement of quantities: the second a description (and sometimes an evaluation) of qualities. Where statistical evidence is appropriate to the first, we must rely largely upon "literary evidence" as to the second.[11]

It should be noted, then, that there are two quite separate issues at stake: one is the per capita increase in quantitative factors, while the other is the consideration of the qualitative aspects of a way of life of real people. There is a sense in which sympathizers with the poor and sympathizers with the entrepreneur may both be right. It is possible to maintain that "for the majority the gain in real wages was substantial"[12] but, at the same time, accept that there was "intensified exploitation, greater insecurity, and increasing human misery."[13] The "empiricist" account of the Industrial Revolution centred its concern on economic growth, measuring the effect of the Industrial Revolution in such terms as wages and prices, debits and receipts, business records, and the growth of industry.[14]

In the same way that the Hammonds may be criticized for failing to take sufficient account of statistical evidence, so too, the recent spate of economically-oriented historians may be criticized for failing to place the economic growth of the period within a political and social setting. It is instructive to consider the shortcomings of both these approaches, but this sort of critique is unhelpful in terms of coming to a decision about the position to be adopted here.

The observation that one group of historians select the material and existential conditions of people as their focus of study, while others select economic growth as their focus of study is an important consideration and should be made explicit. The position taken in this study is that an attempt should be made to examine the interrelation of techno-economic, social organizational, and ideological factors in their historical and political context, and assess their significance to the process of education.

REFORMULATING THE PROBLEM

To attempt to examine the interrelation of techno-economic, social organizational, and ideological factors in their historical and political context, and assess their significance to the process of education is not a sufficient basis on which to proceed. There are a number of issues which must be considered before such a statement can be formulated as a methodological approach, and then applied to a substantive area of enquiry.

To further this project, instead of viewing the accounts of the "pessimists" and "empiricists" as two extreme and contradictory accounts of the period known as the Industrial Revolution, it may be possible to view them as two complementary approaches. They become complementary if they are conceptualized as two players in a larger game which might be called "social enquiry." Seen in this way, the two viewpoints become a concern within the sociology of knowledge, and the problem need no longer be posed by asking which is the correct account. Given the set of assumptions with which each of these approaches begins, and allowing that both approaches are equally conscientious in their enquiry and management of data, it is possible that both re-constructions are correct accounts within the boundaries of the "normal science"[15] in which they are operating.[16]

To ask which is the true representation of the conditions of the time does not help to resolve the problem either. There is a sense in which no generalized statement about the conditions of the life of the times can be true. A generalized statement represents a considered position formulated as a result of evaluating numerous specific cases at a particular moment in time. It is impossible to consider all the cases and so some selection must be made. This is not just a statistical concern, for it is impossible to comprehend all the data that might have a bearing on a particular problem. Thus, in spite of sophisticated sampling procedures, there is no guarantee that all the relevant data will have been taken into consideration in the formulation of the position. Truth becomes relative in such circumstances and true becomes true for the data surveyed. Interpretation remains a formidable problem.

Karl Mannheim, writing fifty years ago, outlined the key features of the problem of interpretation. His treatment of the subject showed great sensitivity to the fundamental issues, but his faith in the "displaced person," the detached academic, as a means to the solution of the problem no longer seems realistic.[17] Mannheim claimed that the greatest difficulty confronting the sociologist was that it was possible "to make a number of entirely different categories in giving a scientific account of a given historical event." He went on to say;

> The chief danger does not lie in the fact that historians are taking different sides on political matters, or other matters of value. . . . The danger, however, lies much deeper than that, and it seems to me that the usual formulation of this problem which mainly

> stresses abstention from value judgements, fails to do full justice to the difficulties involved. The real danger lies in the fact that one can use fundamentally different order patterns and categories already in isolating one's material, in defining one's subject matter.[18]

The previous discussion would suggest that these comments are as pertinent and relevant today as they were when Mannheim first voiced them.

Three concerns that Mannheim raises are particularly significant to the discussion at hand; matters of value and political judgement, order patterns and categories, and scientific accounts of historical events. These concerns may be formulated more fully as follows:

1) The call for abstention from value-judgements and political commitment does not reveal the difficulties that are inherent in social enquiry. Put positively, the problem of ethical neutrality obscures other fundamental disputes.
2) There are fundamentally different order patterns and categories used in the selection and definition of problems for investigation in social enquiry. That is, there exist a variety of metatheoretical positions on which to ground social enquiry.
3) A scientific account of social or historical phenomena is problematic. It is necessary to specify what is entailed in a "scientific account."

These three concerns will now briefly be discussed.

Ethical Neutrality

It has been noted that the problem of ethical neutrality obscures other fundamental questions. Both the claim that ethical neutrality is possible in science, and the discussion arising from such a claim tend to push other fundamental concerns of social enquiry into the background. Harvey has suggested three main reasons why disputes relating to ethical neutrality may arise: because science is not ethically neutral; because there are serious defects in the scientific methods used to consider social phenomena; or because some people are irrational and fail to understand and accept scientifically established results.[19] Any or all of these reasons may be true.

There is a common assumption that scientific method guarantees the objectivity and ethical neutrality of "factual" statements as well as the conclusions derived from such research. Harvey challenges such a position when he writes;

> . . . the lack of ethical neutrality in science affects each and every attempt at "rational" scientific discussion . . . the adoption of certain kinds of scientific methods inevitably leads to certain kinds of substantive conclusions which, in turn, can have profound political implications.[20]

Harvey further argues that "the use of a particular scientific method is of necessity founded in ideology, and that any claim to be ideology-free is of necessity an ideological claim."[21] He suggests three ways in which the ideological foundation of the ethical neutrality assumption may be demonstrated;

1) By an examination of the paradigmatic basis of enquiry throughout the history of science (both natural and social);
2) By an examination of the history of the ethical neutrality assumption itself;
3) By a consideration of those theories of meaning in which it is accepted that there cannot be an ethically neutral language because meaning in language cannot be divorced from the human practices through which specific meanings are learned and communicated.[22]

Harvey emphasizes that "scientific" enquiry takes place in a social setting, expresses social ideas and conveys social meanings. He suggests that by probing more deeply into these social meanings, it may be discovered that particular kinds of scientific method express certain kinds of ethical or ideological positions. More specifically he claims;

> Twentieth century science in the Western world is dominated by the tradition of Aristotelian materialism. Within that tradition, logical empiricism, backed by the philosophical strength of logical positivism, has provided a general paradigmatic basis for scientific enquiry.[23]

Harvey's reaction to the customary value-neutral position that scientists are reported to hold is a helpful corrective, but his discussion does not separate the problems of normative statements and value statements. Such a distinction encourages a more rigorous examination of the bases of scientific discourse.

Israel has addressed himself to the distinction between norms and values. He shows that because normative concepts are deontological (that is, unable to be decided by reference to the essence of things), and value concepts are axiological (that is, based on a system of values), the problem of normative (or non-normative) social science is conceptually quite distinct from non-value-free (or value-free) social science.

Normative Stipulations

There are a variety of metatheoretical positions on which to ground social enquiry. Israel argues that all social sciences start with normative notions—stipulations about the nature of man, the nature of society, and the relation between man and society.[24] Though normative sentences may be formulated in a descriptive manner, they do not usually refer to empirical facts but, instead express pre-conceptions about the "essence" or "nature" of the phenomenon with which they deal. For example, "economic man" selects from the available alternatives the one promising the greatest utility while "homo sociologicus" learns and internalizes various roles and rules. Normative statements, as they do not refer to empirical facts, are metaphysical statements—"they are stipulations prior to the formulation of empirical theories."[25] These stipulations, which are not arbitrary (because once chosen they have logical consequences), when organized systematically as a model of thought may be used as a perspective for an area of enquiry.

Any attempt to build a system presupposes certain material rules,[26] or regulative principles which, according to the characteristics of the system (whether it is mechanical and emphasizing equilibrium, or biological and emphasizing survival and adaptation) influences subsequent theorizing. Any attempt to build a system presupposes such rules. However, a system formulated according to these rules cannot include its own presuppositions.[27] Either it is accepted that not all presuppositions can be stated explicitly or one invites an infinite regress.

What, then, is the starting point for a theoretical perspective in the social sciences? Israel emphasizes that no "primitive natural laws" of a compelling character (like the law of gravity in physics) exist in the social sciences. Instead, he suggests technical norms[28] are formulated to enable enquiry to take place. Summarizing his discussion Israel writes;

> In the social sciences technical norms themselves are the foundation for the formulation of sentences expressing statements about "laws of the social world." Consequently the social sciences start with acts of conceptual commitment in which means to theoretical ends are stated. Theories about the social world are in one way or another derived from these normative points of departure.[29]

Israel argues that non-normative sociology is impossible. This is conceptually distinguishable from the argument that sociology cannot be value-neutral although, as Harvey's position indicates, it is apparent that values may affect normative presuppositions.

Scientific Explanation

There is general agreement that the major aim of science is explanation. Disagreement exists regarding the conditions a proposed explanation must satisfy, and much of this disagreement is concerned with the model of science that is used. On this matter Peter Caws writes;

> The search for a unique scientific method seems less urgent than it once did, because by now it is clear that in general it has already been discovered, while in detail there is no such thing. The general conclusion is that the method of science is a mixture—the proportions of which vary from one science to another—of logical construction and empirical observation, these components standing in roughly dialectical relation.[30]

When the social scientist talks of science, presumably, his primary concern is with a science of humanity. An increasing awareness of the problems revealed by the philosophy of science relating to scientific methodology, in general, and the explanation of human action and social structure, in particular, has prompted a number of social scientists and philosophers to criticize the dominant approach of the natural sciences as an adequate basis for the explanation and understanding of social phenomena. Blumer writes;

> To force all of the empirical world to fit a scheme that has been devised for a given segment of that world is philosophical doctrinizing, and does not represent the approach of genuine empirical science.[31]

"Empirico-analytic science,"[32] then, fails in its approach to social phenomena even by its own standards.

Deutscher claims that the effort of scientific enquiry in the social sciences has been in the wrong direction—he writes;

> . . . the adoption of the scientific model in the social sciences has resulted in an uncommon concern for methodological problems centring on issues of reliability and to a concomitant neglect of the problem of validity. . . . We concentrate on consistency without much concern with what it is we are being consistent about or whether we are consistently right or wrong. As a consequence we may have been learning a great deal about how to pursue an incorrect course with the maximum amount of precision. . . . It is not my intent to disparage the importance of reliability *per se*; it is the obsession with it to which I refer.[33]

A science of humanity will not materialize while it is developed as an appendage of the natural sciences.

Kuhn's study in the history of science has familiarized the scientific community with the notion of scientific paradigms.[34] Kuhn suggests that major shifts in empirical and theoretical models are grounded in circumstances resembling conversion experiences, where a new world-view confronts the previously accepted frame of reference. In what amounts to an ideological confrontation with the previously accepted theory the emerging paradigm refines crucial problems, introduces new methods, and establishes uniquely new standards for solutions. Kuhn's concern is with the natural sciences but Friederichs has extended Kuhn's concerns to the social sciences.[35]

Kuhn, while he has produced an important account of the development of natural science, has failed to come to terms with the basis of paradigmatic change.[36] Kuhn also finds it necessary to relegate the social sciences to "pre-scientific" status. Harvey responds aptly to such a claim by noting that the natural sciences are pre-social, and goes on to make the point that the philosophy of the social sciences is potentially much superior to that of the natural sciences. The eventual fusion of the two fields, he suggests, will come about not through attempts to "scientize" social science but, instead, by the socialization of natural science.[37]

Marx is ambiguous on the subject of science.[38] Though he established a human science elaborated as a critique of ideology, and distinct from the instrumental meaning of natural science, Marx never discussed the topic explicitly, and continued to classify it with the natural sciences.

When Marx used the word "science" he used it to denote a concern with grasping the "essential connections" of capitalism. Marx considered the relations of the parts to each other, and to the whole as crucial for the understanding of any system or group of factors that are convened in essence (Wesen).[39] Science in this sense, then, is concerned with the work of uncovering essences; its purpose is concerned with discovering those major relations which are not open to direct observation. As Marx indicates, the "hidden substratum" of phenomenon "must first be discovered by science."[40]

The criterion of what makes science scientific, for

Marx, is "methodically guaranteed cognitive progress"[41] measured in relation to the degree to which natural-scientific information, regarded in essence as technically exploitable knowledge, enters the process of production;

> The natural sciences have developed an enormous activity and appropriated an ever growing body of material. Philosophy has remained just as foreign to them as they remained foreign to philosophy. Their momentary union [criticizing Schelling and Hegel] was only a fantastic illusion. . . . In a much more practical fashion, natural science has intervened in human life and transformed it by means of industry. . . . Industry is the real historical relation of nature, and thus of natural science, to man.[42]

Habermas, criticizing Marx's positivist overtones in his demand for a "natural science of man," emphasizes that the natural sciences are subject to the transcendental conditions of the system of social labour.[43] It is the structural change of the system of social labour on which the critique of political economy, as the science of humanity, is supposed to reflect. Natural science, Habermas remarks;

> . . . lacks precisely this element of reflection that characterises a critique investigating the natural-historical process of the self-generation of the social subject and also making the subject conscious of this process.[44]

Habermas goes on to emphasize that if the science of humanity is an analysis of a constituitive process, it necessarily includes the self-reflection of science as epistemological critique. If the materialist concept of synthesis through social labour is accepted as a basis, then the technically exploitable knowledge of the natural sciences, the knowledge of natural laws, theories of society, and knowledge of the laws of human natural history all belong to the same objective context of the self-constitution of the species. In other words;

> From the level of pragmatic, everday knowledge to modern natural science, the knowledge of nature derives from man's primary coming to grips with nature; at the same time it reflects back upon the system of social labour and stimulates its development.[45]

"Empirico-analytic science" makes an artificial separation between methodology and philosophy. The dominant scientific paradigm tends to regard facts as separate from values, objects as independent of subjects, "things" as possessing an identity independent of human perception and action, and the "private" process of discovery as separate from the "public" process of communicating the results.[46]

Such distinctions are harmful to analysis. Acts of categorization are fundamental—"it is vital to understand how categories are established and in particular how they take on a meaning and are transformed through and in use."[47] Social science concepts, categories, relationships, and methods are not independent of the existing social relationships. As such, the concepts are the product of the very phenomena they are designed to describe.

How is it possible to "socialise the natural sciences"? Feyerabend suggests one route when he claims;

> Science is an essentially anarchistic enterprise: theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its law-and-order alternatives.[48]

While this may prove to be "excellent medicine" for epistemology and the philosophy of science, it does not provide directions for a contemporary mode of research which, making use of the existing paradigms, offers a way of transcending them.[49] On this, Harvey has some suggestions that are in keeping with the concerns I have mentioned. Harvey suggests that the most fruitful strategy for the socialization of natural science (the humanization of science) is to explore that area of understanding in which certain aspects of positivism, materialism, and phenomenology overlap to provide adequate interpretations of the social reality in which we find ourselves.[50] This overlap, he suggests, is most clearly explored in Marxist thought.[51]

MARXIST EPISTEMOLOGY AND DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS

It has been suggested that the presuppositions that are made at the beginning of an enquiry regarding the characteristics attributed to human behaviour are of fundamental importance, for these conceptual commitments influence all further enquiry. This section outlines the theoretical position and the methodological procedures to be adopted in this study.

Theoretical Basis

The study takes as its theoretical base a number of propositions about man and society that were developed by Marx and Engels in the course of their studies and writing.

Marx and Engels first outlined what was to become the basic tenets of the Marxist position in The German Ideology. The most fundamental idea expressed in this work is that man produces himself through labour. As obvious as this statement is, it needs to be made and emphasized for it has some important consequences. The observation that humans produce themselves emphasizes that the genetically programmed, human species does not have an unchanging nature. Homo sapiens is subject as well as object in his physical and social environment. Marx was equally insistent that the human species does not develop according to the dictates of some spiritual essence as Hegel had suggested. Instead, Marx forwarded a dialectically conceived relation between man's nature as determined by the material conditions of his life, and the practical transformation of those conditions. Marx indicates this clearly when he writes;

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.[52]

The link between man as object and man as subject is work.[53]

Formulating the proposition that humans produce themselves through labour, as a technical norm renders the term "human," as such, to a highly abstract concept. History is made by particular kinds of people, who have their own specific needs and problems, and live in particular environs, under specific conditions that determine the range of possibilities of their actions in attempting to meet needs and solve problems. The circumstances which help to shape and form consciousness are not independent of human activity, as some materialists would seem to suggest, for they are precisely the social relations that have been historically created by human action. These issues are made explicit in the third of Marx's Theses on Feuerbach;

> The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that it is essential to educate the educator himself. This doctrine must, therefore, divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society.[54]

In this passage Marx indicates that the materialist position to which he is referring is inconsistent, and that those forwarding it are not sufficiently aware of the basis of their own position. They regard people as passive products of the circumstances in which they live, yet their own activity is implicitly based upon a rational insight into the nature of an ideal society and purposive action to bring about change. Marx's position recognizes all individuals as both products of their circumstances and potential changers of circumstances.[55]

Marx has been regarded as a materialist because, he claims in the first instance, it is material conditions that determine human existence. Both the individual and the species must be produced as living substantial beings before action directed at change can occur. The individual cannot determine the historical period, the geographical location, nor the class into which he is born—such factors are fundamental limitations to the range of his actions. However, the recognition of a dialectic between the material conditions and the existential consciousness of individuals in particular social settings provides a dynamic edge to Marx's theory which distinguishes it from other theoretical approaches.

Together with the fundamental proposition that humans produce themselves through labour, historical materialism recognizes that people are organized in particular ways in society according to their relations with one another and with nature. This organization is directly related to the production of the means of subsistence. It is not just the production of their existence but the definite form of activity of these individuals—their _mode_ _of_ _life_—that is significant;

> As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore coincides with their production, both with _what_ they produce and _how_ they produce.[56]

As a result of their particular form of productive activity individuals enter into definite social and political relations. The social structure and the State evolve out of the life process of individuals. The production of ideas, conceptions and consciousness is interwoven with the material activity and interrelations of individuals. Consciousness cannot be separated from conscious existence, and the existence of individuals is their actual life process.

Marx and Engels went further than any of their contemporaries—and some would add their successors—towards the formation of a theory of cultural evolution, the major elements of which are;

1) The trisection of socio-cultural systems into techno-economic base, social organization, and ideology;
2) The explanation of ideology and social organization as adaptive responses to techno-economic conditions;
3) The formation of a functionalist model providing for interactive effects between all parts of the system;
4) The provision for the analysis of both system-maintaining and system-destroying variables.[57]

Marx and Engels maintained that it was in the economic base that the explanation for both parts of the superstructure—social organization and ideology—were to be found. The reason for the domination of economics over social organization is contained in the relationship of the "relations of production" with "a definite stage of development" of human "material powers of production" which render the "relations of production" independent of man's will.[58]

Dialectical Analysis

Dialectical analysis recognizes the structural characteristics of society as they exist at a particular moment of time but, in addition, it acknowledges that these historically developed social forms are in a continual process of change. The social world cannot be represented, if it is to be represented in its manifest complexity, simply as a complex of structures thought of as concrete entities in themselves. Rather, it needs to be understood as a series of processes which evolve, change, and eventually disappear only to be replaced by other processes. Accordingly, elements in the social world should be understood in their interrelation and interconnectedness; as process as well as product, as qualitative entities as well as quantitative forms. In this way dialectical analysis attempts to examine both the structural features and the dynamics of social phenomena, and situate them in their particular historical contexts.

Dialectical analysis is based on the premise that there are heterogeneous and usually contradictory constituents in any social phenomenon. It is these differences and contradictions that provide the impetus for social change. Marx suggested that the basic contradiction of capitalist society was to be found between the collectivity of production and the private mode of appropriation; between the developing forces of production and the crystallization of the established relations of production in property relations. The concrete opposites or contradictions in Marx's analysis of capitalism, then, are labour and capital, which are both products of the world of private property.

Education within a dialectical perspective. In adopting a dialectical perspective and a Marxist epistemology in this enquiry, a number of points regarding education and its relations to other institutions become apparent. First, such an approach enables one to recognize that education has a structural identity in the society at a particular moment in time. As a means of acculturation, socialization, vocational training and the training of an intelligensia, and as an agent of social control, education plays a significant structural role in the social system. However, it is equally apparent that educational theory and practice evolves as a historical process. Education is a process which changes and takes on new forms. But such changes cannot occur without consequences. Education cannot be changed to suit the requirements of a particular class or interest group without significant repercussions on other aspects of the social structure. The historicity of institutions makes any change problematic for there will always be vestiges of the old when the new has been instituted.

Second, the approach encourages the enquirer to examine the contradictions that arise from the conflicting interests evident in the historical process. The ruling class in England has used education as an effective socialization process to prepare the elite of society for centuries. The emergence of a new class—the middle class—and their rise to economic and political power was accompanied by a concern for an education in keeping with their own interests. The working class, though for a time supportive of the middle class in their efforts to secure universal education, came to realize that their own interests would only be considered if they, themselves, formulated and developed a working-class position on education. Without an awareness of these conflicts the picture of education during the period under consideration becomes synthetic.

Third, Marxist epistemology enables one to conceive of humans shaped by the material conditions of their existence, yet potentially capable of changing their circumstances so as to transform these material conditions. Marx's statement that man produces himself through labour emphasizes that human nature is not fixed. Arendt's distinction between "work" and "labour" is useful for it helps to reveal a significant point. Humans reproduce their present existence through "labour." It is necessary to labour in order to provide the essentials of life to assure survival. In this human beings are no different from other species. The unique potential of the human species is to change and produce a new existence through "work." That is, by creating new forms in thought and then realizing these new forms in practice, humans can work to change the conditions of their present existence. It is the human's cultural heritage that provides this unique potential, and it is through education that this heritage is transferred. In this way, then, education realized in work has the potential for change.

Ideas, conceptions and consciousness are a product of particular social settings—they are interwoven with the material conditions and the social relations of production. "New" ideas surface when there is dissatisfaction with the existing ideas, or with the existing conditions of life. Then the experience of those in different epochs and in different settings is brought to bear in the criticism of the existing ideas or conditions, and in the formulation of new ideas. Education is the vehicle for the transfer of these ideas.

In the present study it is evident that techno-economic conditions spurred much of the activity for change, but to see these conditions as the sole cause of educational change would be to ignore the importance of ideas which give man his unique ability to be able to conceive of, and plan, new circumstances. It is in the interrelation of the effects of material conditions and the influence of ideological factors that the explanations of change must be sought.

CONCEPTUAL CONCERNS

It is not possible, and some would add nor is it desirable, to legislate the meaning of a concept in the social sciences with the knowledge that informed readers will understand the term in the same way. This has led to a wide range of meanings of concepts in the social sciences. There is nothing that is necessarily harmful to the future of sociology in this trend; it may simply indicate the growth of a variety of theories regarding the nature of society. Different meanings of the same term arise from different theoretical perspectives.

As one sociologist has suggested, "We have a period of a thousand flowers blooming and some of the blossoms look like weeds."[59] But the weeding process is not an easy one to perform well. To continue the analogy a little further, almost anyone can walk into the field and uproot new shoots, but it takes a gardener to separate the weeds from the crop, and a botanical expert to identify the weeds and assess their possible effect on the crop. Aside from the question of who are the gardeners, not to mention the botanical experts, the sociologist's position is not as clear as the gardener's— at least the gardener recognizes his crop! The wide variety of papers between the covers of sociology journals suggest that it might be difficult to formulate the _ideal type_ "sociology" for easy identification.

While the meaning of the terms may vary in different sociological paradigms, and even within the same paradigm, the onus should be on the writer to explain the concepts that he is using.

Language and Culture

It should be emphasized from the beginning that language is an aspect of culture and, as such, cannot be used as an asceptic tool. It may be possible to formulate rules governing the use of language in particular circumstances, which might form a basis of agreement for those who choose to adopt these rules and all they imply; but it is not possible to separate language from its cultural heritage or social implications. Language needs to be understood from a socio-historical perspective.

Williams suggests that during the period 1780-1850 a number of words that are now of primary importance to our linguistic representation of the world came into common usage for the first time or acquired significantly new meanings.[60] Of these, industry, democracy, class, and culture are key words and of central significance to this study. The following words were also significant additions to the language: ideology, rationalism, humanitarian, utilitarian, scientist, capitalism, commercialism, collectivism, communism, equalitarianism, and liberalism. Such changes in the vocabulary, Williams claims, signify a general change in ways of thinking about everyday life; of thinking about social, political, and economic institutions and the purposes they are designed to embody; and of thinking about the relations of people's activities to these institutions.[61] It is relevant to consider what Williams has to say about the key words.

Industry

Before the Industrial Revolution the term "industry" was the one given for a particular human attribute which could be paraphrased as "skill, assiduity, perseverence, dilligence." This meaning of the word still survives. Adam Smith was one of the first writers to use the word in a new way; namely, as a collective word for manufacturing and productive institutions, and for their general activities.[62] The term industry begins to be thought of as a thing in itself—an institution, a body of activities—rather than simply a human attribute, and the word industrial comes into usage to describe such institutions. Their rapid growth is seen as creating a new system which, in the 1830s, is first called industrialism. Commenting on these developments Williams writes;

> In part, this is the acknowledgement of a series of very important technical changes, and of their transforming effect on methods of production. It is also, however, an acknowledgement of the effect of these changes on society as a whole, which is similarly transformed. The phrase Industrial Revolution amply confirms this, for the phrase, first used by the French in the 1820s, and gradually adopted in the course of the century, by English writers, is modelled explicitly on an analogy with the French Revolution of 1789. As that had transformed France, so this has transformed England; the means of change are different, but the change is comparable in kind: it has produced by a pattern of change, a new society.[63]

Democracy

Democracy, the Greek term for government by the people, only came into common English use at the time of the American and French Revolutions. At the end of the eighteenth century "democracy ceased to be a mere literary word, and became part of the political vocabulary." In many cases the word was used unfavourably in relation to the hated Jacobinism, or with the familiar mob-rule. While England may theoretically have been a democracy since Magna Carta, or since the Commonwealth, or since 1688, it did not call itself one. "Democrats at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, were seen, commonly, as dangerous and subversive mob agitators."[64]

Culture

Culture, from meaning the "tending of natural growth," and then, by analogy, a process of human training, came to represent culture as such, an entity in itself. First, it was used to denote "a general state or habit of mind," and was closely related with the idea of human perfection. Second, it came to mean the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole." Third, it came to mean the "general body of the arts," and finally, later in the century, it came to mean "a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual." It is in this general meaning of the word—as a whole way of life—that culture is understood in this study.

Culture was not only a response to the new methods of production, or to industry; it was also concerned with the new kinds of personal and social relationships, both as a recognition of practical separation and as an emphasis of alternatives. The idea of culture was as much a response to the new political and social movements as it was to industrialism—"it was a complex and radical response to the problems of social class."[65]

Class

The important modern sense of the word class can be dated from about 1740. Before this, the usual use of class was to refer to a division or group in schools and colleges. By the end of the eighteenth century the modern structure of class, in its social sense, is beginning to emerge. The phrase lower orders, which appears early in the eighteenth century, is joined by lower classes. In the 1790s there are references to *higher* ~~*classes*~~, *middle classes*, and *middling classes*. The terms *working classes* and *upper classes* make their appearance in about 1815 and 1820 respectively. *Class* prejudice, class legislation, class consciousness, class conflict, and class war appear in the course of the nineteenth century. Commenting on this emergence Williams writes;

> It is obvious of course, that this spectacular history of the new use of *class* does not indicate the *beginning* of social divisions in England. But it indicates, quite clearly, a change in the character of these divisions, and it records equally clearly, a change in attitudes towards them. *Class* is a more indefinite word than *rank*, and this was probably one of the reasons for its introduction. The structure then built on it is in nineteenth century terms; in terms, that is to say, of the changed social structure, and the changed social feelings, of an England which was passing through the Industrial Revolution, and which was at a crucial phase in the development of political democracy.[66]

Working Class

When I use the concept "class" I am following E. P. Thompson when he describes it as "a historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness." He goes on to emphasize that it is a historical phenomenon rather than a "structure" or a "category" and that it is something that happens, and can be demonstrated to have happened, in human relationships. The notion of class entails the notion of historical relationship—a relationship which must always be embodied in real people and in a real context. As a historical relationship it is continually undergoing change, it evades analysis if an attempt is made to "stop it dead at any given moment and anatomize its structure." As Thompson explains;

> . . . class happens when some men, as a result of common experience (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born—or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms.[67]

Thompson's notion of class, which emphasizes that it should be understood as a process, is used here as a suitable, but simplified, partial conceptualization of the term. The concept is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. It is Thompson's thesis that, during the period 1780-1832, most English working people began to feel an identity of interests as between themselves and as against their rulers and employers. It was in these years, then, that the working class assumed an identity, and a working-class consciousness emerged.

Education

As Hoare has indicated, the process of education cannot be reduced to any single function.[68] It is at the same time:

1) A process of socialization, of internalization of dominant social norms and values;
2) A process of acculturation of the rising generation, in which it inherits a common repertory of ideas and symbols;
3) A system of vocational training, which transmits specific

skills for use in later life; and

4) The process by which in any society intellectuals and culture are formed.

In social democracies education is usually regarded as a social service and, as such, a "good" which should be shared more equally. Such a conceptualization tends to mask an important contradiction evident in educational systems. This contradiction arises from the recognition that, on the one hand, education is a vital human need, as basic as food or shelter while, on the other, it is;

> . . . [a] fundamental component of the power structure of any society—the means whereby assent is secured to the values and privileges of the dominant class.[69]

Education, then, is the point at which vital human needs and the power structure immediately intersect. It is never neutral or "innocent" for it represents the assimilation of a social order.

Marx insisted that education in "capitalist society" was a "tool of the ruling class."[70] Such a claim should prompt enquiries into the relationship between the interests of the economically dominant group and the prevailing notions of education, yet, it is only recently that sociologists of education have begun to focus on this problem. Michael F. D. Young has emphasized the need for a sociology of education which makes the problems of control and the organization of knowledge and their interpretations its core concern.[71] As a step in this direction he has begun to explore the dialectical relationship between access to power and the opportunity to legitimize certain dominant categories, and the process by which the availability of such categories to some groups enables them to assert power, and control others.[72]

Bernstein, in the same general vein, sets out to explain the relationship between educational codes and the structure of power and principles of social control. He maintains;

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.[73]

It should be stressed that education, as it is viewed in this context, is, first and foremost, a multi-dimensional _process_. Fundamental to the process of education is the objective of _change_. Change can never be neutral, it is value-oriented. It is the way in which people are changed and the characteristics of the change itself that distinguishes one process of education from another. The content of education, and the context and manner in which it occurs are vehicles for the change that takes place.

Working-Class Education

Gramsci, in considering the formation and significance of intellectuals, makes some interesting observations that help focus the rather general field which I wish to cover in order to locate the origins of what might justifiably be called working-class education. He notes;

> . . . that every social class as it comes into existence on the original basis of an essential function in the world of production creates, with itself,

> organically, one or more groups of intellectuals who give it homogeneity and consciousness of its functions. . . .[74]

These "organic" intellectuals emerge in the economic, political and social fields and are, for the most part, "specializations of partial aspects of the primitive activity of the new social type which the new class has brought to light." Gramsci goes on to emphasize that every "essential" social class, as it emerges from the preceding economic structure as an expression of one of the developments of that structure, finds "pre-existing intellectual categories." These intellectual categories appear as representative of "an historical continuity uninterrupted even by the most complicated and radical changes in social and political forms."[75]

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed certain theoretical and methodological issues which are fundamental to the study. Any sociological study, be it contemporary or historical in its subject matter, must face the problem of interpretation. The interpretations of "empiricist" and "pessimist" are discussed as two approaches to the analysis of evidence concerning the Industrial Revolution.

In a search for a more satisfactory solution than siding with one or the other of these competing approaches to the analysis of evidence, three issues central to the problem of interpretation—ethical neutrality, the theoretical and metatheoretical bases of enquiry, and scientific explanation—are briefly discussed. This leads to a statement regarding the metatheoretical and theoretical bases of this study, which some might call historical materialism, and a consideration of the methodology that guides the study, that of dialectical analysis.

Finally, four key concepts—"class," "working-class," "education," and "working-class education" are discussed together with a consideration of other conceptual issues.

NOTES

[1] It is academically prudent to withhold the grounds for such decisions (and so allow more room for maneuver in the defence of one's own reconstruction of the event), but such action impedes the advance of knowledge.

[2] In connection with this problem, it is instructive to note the following comment of Wittgenstein on the topic of criterion of identity;

> ". . . what should interest us is the question: how do we compare these experiences; what criterion of identity do we fix for their occurence?" (L. Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, 1968, p. 105).

[3] J. L. Hammond and B. Hammond, The Town Labourer 1760-1832, 1920.

[4] Ibid., pp. v, vi.

[5] M. T. Thomis, The Town Labourer and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, pp. 2-3.

[6] For example, the Coles, the Hammonds, C. Hill, E. J. Hobsbawm, R. H. Tawney, E. P. Thompson, and the Webbs.

[7] For example. T. Ashton, F. A. Hayek, W. W. Rostow.

[8] F. A. Hayek, "History and Politics" in Capitalism and the Historians, 1954, pp. 25, 26.

[9] See E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 1972, p. 229.

[10] As suggested by E. P. Thompson, ibid., p. 230.

[11] Ibid.

[12] T. S. Ashton, "The Treatment of Capitalism by Historians," in Capitalism and the Historians, 1954, p. 41.

[13] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 231.

[14] It has been convenient to refer to "empiricists" and "pessimists" in this discussion but this should not lead one to the conclusion that the problem can be adequately articulated in terms of a simple dichotomy of approaches. However, a choice of this kind, for practical reasons, may be the most productive way of beginning to examine the problem.

[15] Kuhn argues that "particular coherent traditions of scientific research," which he terms "normal science," take their shape from paradigms (Kuhn, 1962, p. 10). While he uses the notion of paradigms in a variety of ways, in the Preface he defines them "as universally recognised scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners" (ibid., p. x). Paradigms include "law, theory, applications, and instrumentation together" and "they are the source of the methods, problem-field, and standards of solution accepted by any mature scientific community at a given time" (ibid., p. 10). . . . Such paradigms "provide scientists not only with a map but also with some of the directions for map making" (ibid., p. 108). See D. L. Phillips, "Epistemology and the Sociology of Knowledge: The Contributions of Mannheim, Mills, and Merton, Theory and Society, 1(1974)62-63.

[16] The fact that serious contradictions arise from the pessimists' and empiricists' accounts of social conditions during the Industrial Revolution may indicate that the rules of the game are changing—it may be that the paradigms in which the explanations are formulated are no longer adequate. To pursue this problem further would require a description of the various competing paradigms and an analysis of the conflicting issues, followed by an account of an alternative —an emergent paradigm that could cope with the inconsistencies arising from the presently competing paradigms. One should not dismiss the possibility that apparently conflicting positions might be incorporated within a new paradigmatic framework.

[17] For example, Loren Baritz argues that social scientists use their methods and the rhetoric of science to support the power of administrators. (The Servants of Power, 1960)

[18] Karl Mannheim, "Competition as a Cultural Phenomenon," in Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, 1964, p. 219.

[19] David Harvey's enumeration, "Population Resources, and the Ideology of Science, Economic Geography, 1974.

[20] Ibid., p. 256.

[21] Ibid., p. 256.

[22] Harvey cites the following references: (a) Relating to the paradigmatic basis of enquiry—D. Harvey, Social Justice and the City, 1973. T. S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1962. I. Mesjaros, "Ideology and Social Science," Socialist Register, 1972; (b) Relating to the history of the ethical neutrality asumption—V. J. Tarascio, Pareto's Methodological Approach to Economics, 1968; (c) Relating to

the cultural specificity of language—W. D. Hudson, Modern Moral Philosophy, 1970. L. Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, 1968.

[23] D. Harvey, op. cit., 1974, p. 276.

[24] Joachim Israel, "Is Non-normative Social Science Possible?" Acta Sociologica, 1975.

[25] Ibid., p. 71.

[26] Watkins has used the concept material rules to identify the "metaphysically impregnated part of methodology which tries to establish the appropriate material requirements which the contents of the premises of an explanatory theory in a particular field ought to satisfy" (Watkins, 1968, p. 269 in J. Israel, ibid., p. 72).

[27] "In the same way as it is impossible to blow up a balloon from the inside it is impossible to examine a set of methodological persuasions without using another set." Arne Ness quoted in Israel, ibid., p. 79.

[28] Technical norms are concerned with the means to be used for the sake of attaining a certain end. (Von Wright, 1963 in J. Israel, ibid., p. 75)

[29] Israel, ibid., p. 76.

[30] Peter Caws, Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 1967, p. 343.

[31] H. Blumer, Symbolic Interaction, 1969, p. 23.

[32] Sallach introduces the term "empirico-analytic" sociology as a more satisfactory alternative to Gouldner's "administrative sociology" (see D. L. Sallach, "Critical Theory and Critical Sociology: The Second Synthesis," Sociological Inquiry, 1973). Empirico-analytic science has been described as "that mode of analysis that presupposes the interest of certainty and technical control" (see T. Schroyer, "Marx and Habermas," Continuum, 1970).

[33] I. Deutscher, "Words and Deeds: Social Science and Social Policy," Social Problems, 1966.

[34] T. S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1962.

[35] R. W. Friederichs, The Sociology of Sociology, 1970.

[36] Kuhn provides no explanation as to how a new paradigm becomes accepted. Kuhn suggests it is like a leap of faith—but he does not indicate on what this leap of

faith is based. Harvey suggests that underlying Kuhn's analysis is a guiding force which is never explicitly examined. "This guiding force amounts to a fundamental belief in the virtues of control and manipulation of the natural environment" (D. Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, 1973, p. 120.

[37] Ibid., pp. 120-130.

[38] For example, compare: "Natural science will eventually subsume the science of man just as the science of man will subsume natural science: there will be a *single* science" (K. Marx in J. Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, 1972, p. 46) with his appraisal of Feuerbach's position:

> "Feuerbach's great achievement is: . . . The establishment of *true materialism* and of *real science*, by making the relationship of 'man to man' the basic principle of the theory. . . ." (K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, 1974, p. 126.

[39] There is no satisfactory translation into English. Words which approximate *Wesen* include "essence," "entity," "being," "nature," "totality," "structure." These words suggest stability whereas the sense of the word is more in the direction of fluidity.

[40] K. Marx, *Capital*, I, p. 542 in B. Ollman, *Alienation*, 1975, p. 65.

[41] J. Habermas, op. cit., p. 45.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Habermas takes particular exception to Marx's statement, "Natural science will eventually subsume the science of man . . ." that has been quoted above (note 38).

[44] J. Habermas, op. cit., p. 46.

[45] Ibid., p. 47.

[46] See D. Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, 1973, pp. 11-12.

[47] Ibid., p. 12,

[48] P. Feyerabend, *Against Method*, 1975, p. 17.

[49] This may be unfair to Feyerabend, and should be qualified to read that it does not provide directions for a mode of research for me at this time.

[50] D. Harvey, op. cit., 1973, p. 129.

[51] Marx in the Economic Manuscripts and the German Ideology gave his system of thought a powerful and appealing phenomenological basis. There are also certain things which Marxism and positivism have in common. They both have a materialist base and both resort to an analytic method. The essential difference, of course, is that positivism simply seeks to understand (explain) the world whereas Marxism seeks to change it (see D. Harvey, op. cit., 1973, pp. 129-130.

[52] Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in K, Marx and F. Engels Selected Works, 1968, p. 97.

[53] For the distinction between "labour" and "work," see H. Arendt, The Human Contition, and S. Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, 1968, pp. 65-95.

[54] K. Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, in Selected Works, 1968, p. 28.

[55] Marx's theses on Feuerbach go on to say that to make social change possible it is necessary to postulate one section of society not determined by material economic conditions. It is from such a class that the lead for universal emancipation must come.

[56] K. Marx, German Ideology, 1970, p. 42.

[57] M. Harris, in the Rise of Anthropological Theory, forwards these four elements and one other (the pre-eminence of culture over race) as a retrospective analysis of the ingredients of Marx's theory of cultural evolution (1968, p. 240).

[58] The apparatus of production evolves in a definite order of progression. There is an unbroken chain of technological innovations which links archaic man to industrial man;

> "Stone tools had to come before metal tools; spears had to come before bows and arrows; hunting and gathering had to precede pastoralism and agriculture; the digging stick had to precede the plow; the flint strike-a-light had to be invented before the safety match; oars and sails had to precede the steamboat; and handicrafts had to precede industrial manufacture" (Harris, 1968, p. 232).

[59] J. Rex, Approaches to Sociology, 1974, p. 1.

[60] R. Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, 1966.

[61] Williams shows how the idea of culture, and even the word itself in its general modern usage, came into English thinking during the period known as the Industrial Revolution. His work leads him to suggest that a new general theory of culture is possible which would involve a restatement of principles, and taking the theory of culture as a theory of relations between elements in a whole way of life.

[62] Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, 1776.

[63] R. Williams, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[64] Ibid., p. 14.

[65] Ibid., p. 17.

[66] Ibid., p. 15.

[67] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 9-10. Elsewhere Thompson has written;

> "When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening" ("Peculiarities of the English," The Socialist Register, 1965, p. 357).

[68] Q. Hoare, "Education, programmes and men," New Left Review, 1967, p. 41.

[69] Ibid., p. 42.

[70] K. Marx in M. F. D. Young, "An approach to the study of curricula as socially organised knowledge," Knowledge and Control, 1971, p. 28.

[71] M. F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control, 1971, p. 3.

[72] Ibid., pp. 19-46.

[73] B. Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge," in M. F. D. Young, ibid., pp. 47-69.

[74] A. Gramsci, "The formation of intellectuals," The Modern Prince, 1957, p. 118.

[75] Ibid., p. 119.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TECHNO-ECONOMIC BASE OF INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN

> This conception of history depends on our ability to expound the real process of production, starting out from the material production of life itself, and to comprehend the form of intercourse connected with this and created by this mode of production (i.e., civil society in its various stages), as the basis of all history; and to show it in its action as State, to explain all the different theoretical products and forms of consciousness, religion, philosophy, ethics, etc. etc. and trace their origins and growth from that basis; by which means, of course, the whole thing can be depicted in its totality (and therefore, too, the reciprocal action of these various sides on one another). It has not, like the idealistic view of history, in every period to look for a category, but remains constantly on the real ground of history; it does not explain practice from the idea but explains the formation of ideas from material practice . . .
>
> Karl Marx, The German Ideology, (1845-6), 1970, p. 58.

[illegible]TION

The majority of people in Britain before the Industrial Revolution lived and worked in rural areas. A lack of transport and communication, and the general acceptance of traditional roles made it difficult for most people to conceive of any alternative lifestyle. The principal economic activity was agriculture and the basic economic unit was still the family. Traditional patterns of life, though they varied considerably from district to district and industry to industry, remained the most influential aspects of everyday life.

British towns and cities were still small.[1] London, which had grown rapidly during the eighteenth century and was one of the few exceptions to this general tendency, monopolized much of the seaboard trade; and Bristol, the main port for slave ships, remained very active. The smaller ports were important to coastal trade and played a vital part in the national economy until the establishment of inland transport. Other than the ports, towns were generally the natural centres of a particular rural area with a market where local produce could be sold, and supplies to meet everyday needs could be bought.[2] Towns such as Exeter and Norwich, and later, Manchester, organized a growing clothing industry, but the manufacture of goods took place mainly in the workers' homes. Though breweries, iron foundaries, brickyards and other small industries all employed wage labour, the number of people who worked on their employer's premises was relatively small.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, then, the British economy was based on agriculture but supported by commercial and industrial sectors, and the society was predominantly traditional in character. All this was to change. The Industrial Revolution was to significantly alter the economic and social conditions of Britain.

By the middle of the eighteenth century Britain was well on its way to being a self-sufficient state of the early capitalist type managed by a landed aristocracy. The produce of agriculture and domestic manufactures was sufficient for the needs of both town and country, and the accumulation of a small surplus. This surplus provided the funds to finance naval and colonial stores, to keep up the interest on Britain's foreign debt, and to pay the expenses of her subsidized foreign concerns. The British colonies represented an expanding market.

The protracted war on the Continent (1793-1815) acted as a stimulus to processes that were already in motion, and the commercial position of Britain was quite suddenly transformed as she began to take on the functions that her defeated rivals had once performed. Following a web of dramatic changes which have been referred to as revolutions in their own right, Britain became the centre of capitalist enterprise;

> Not one but a dozen revolutions swept western Europe from 1783 to 1815. It was a revolution in industry, mining and transportation which was under way in the England of the younger Pitt. There was a series of French revolutions which summoning England to war welded her into an economic society. These great processes cradled a Commercial Revolution which placed the carrying trade of Europe and her colonies in the hands of the English merchantmen.[3]

Together these changes contributed to what has become known as the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution is one of the landmarks of human history. Not since the Neolithic Revolution in pre-history, when agriculture and stock-rearing replaced a hunting and food-gathering economy, has there been a parallel worthy of the name.[4] The Neolithic Revolution had made civilization possible, but at the expense of slaves, serfs and the "labouring poor." The Industrial Revolution provided the opportunity to shape and utilize the physical environment without the need to exploit fellow humans.

Britain's Industrial Revolution was the first. It was spontaneous, in that it was not planned like those that followed, and it was accompanied by a growth in population and a remarkable increase in the annual volume of goods and services. A number of inter-related changes have been identified which characterize the Industrial Revolution:

1) An increasing interest in the practical implications of scientific discovery and the application of empirical knowledge to the process of production;
2) A specialization of economic activity in production to cater for national and international markets;

3) A migration of the population from rural to urban areas;
4) A change in the typical production unit, away from extended family groups and towards larger, more impersonal corporate groups;
5) A transfer of labour from activities concerned with the production of primary products to the production of manufactured goods and services;
6) A substitution of capital resources for, or as a complement to, human labour;
7) The emergence of new classes determined by the relationship to the means of production other than land.[5]

Together these characteristics constitute what has become generally accepted as the Industrial Revolution. The actual time period over which these changes occurred is still a matter of contention, but there is good evidence to suggest that the time-span of this study (1780-1832) occupies the central, if not the main, portion of the period.[6]

The increases in trade and productivity during the latter part of the eighteenth century were unprecedented. Between 1780 and 1800 British foreign trade almost trebled. Coal production between 1750 and 1800 doubled, pig iron production in 1806 was four times that of 1788. The pioneer machine industry—cotton—realized even greater increases. By 1800 five times the amount of raw cotton was being imported as in 1781.[7]

The most obvious and immediate cause of such increases in productivity was technology. The factory system evolved as a result of the great innovations in metallurgy, cotton manufacture and powered machinery. But technology was a necessary not a sufficient cause—a variety of factors contributed to industrialization.

Favourable natural circumstances made the development of technology possible and encouraged its expansion. Abundant supplies of water were available for power and processing. Large deposits of coal, iron ore and limestone could be mined easily. England's island position, supplied with good, natural harbours and ready access to navigable waters and ocean trade routes, was also an important contributing factor.

As well as favourable natural circumstances Britain experienced a fortunate combination of economic factors. The growing population provided both an expanding labour force and a "vigorous, elastic home demand for cheap consumer goods."[8] Yet the population increased steadily enough to provide incentives for labour-saving inventions, and to avoid the Malthusian threat of population overtaking resources. In addition to the convenience of an expanding labour force, industrialists could rely on cheap and plentiful supplies of labour and extraordinary low rates of interest. Land was available, owners were willing to develop it, and entrepreneurs were ready to exploit opportunities of profit whenever they occurred.

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The latter part of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century was a time of turbulence throughout Europe. There was widespread dissatisfaction both with the forms of government and the conditions of society. It was the "age of revolution."[9]

Two great interest groups dominated the scene; those supporting church and state, and those supporting democracy. Writing in 1791, G. K. van Hogendorp, a young Dutch patrician, put it in the following way. He observed two great parties forming "in all nations." One of these, the party of church and state, believed in "a right of government to be exercised by one or several persons over the mass of the people, of divine origin and supported by the church." The other, which he called the sovereignty of the people or democracy, denied any right of government "except that arriving from the free consent of those who submit to it" and held "all persons who take part in government as accountable for their actions."[10]

Rudé has described the period as a time of "deep and varying contrasts;"

> the contrast between the developed West and the undeveloped East; between the expansion of trade, industry and population and the relative stagnation of agriculture; and between the wide dissemination of news and ideas and the tenacious conservatism of social relations and political institutions.[11]

Industry was playing an increasingly important role in the economic development of most European countries, but it was a domestic system of industry organized along traditional lines. The factory system was still in its infancy but, in this, Britain had a clear lead over her industrial rivals—a factor which was to be to her advantage in the years at war with France.

Economic development was accompanied by the spread of ideas which encouraged public awareness and undermined traditional modes of thought and loyalties. These factors, especially in the context of war and revolution, were to profoundly modify the prevailing attitudes and relations between classes but, in 1788, European society remained essentially hierarchical and aristocratic. Britain's aristocracy enjoyed few of the legal privileges and immunities of her European cousins. Wealth, and the power and prestige that it often attracted, rather than birth was increasingly becoming the determinant of social classification.[12]

Change in Britain was, of course, related to a larger world perspective. The centre of initiative in Europe had been moving to the societies of the north and the west since the sixteenth century. Italy and Germany had lost their renaissance leadership. Further east, the rise of serfdom on the great plains of Poland and the Ukraine marked, in part, the response to the threat from the east, and this and Turkey's intrusion into south-eastern Europe created a situation markedly in contrast to that of western Europe. "At the same time as the area of humanism and volition was contracting in Eastern European lands the western states began their preparation for world ascendancy by colonization and example."[13]

Britain served as an example for fundamental social change, but the new initiatives and knowledge realized in Britain were not exclusively British. The economy of Britain was closely linked with the external world. Rival competitive sovereign states stimulated Britain's economic effort, while Britain influenced the countries with which it dealt as new ideas and products reached more distant markets. Britain's opportunity to take the initiative in industrialization was dependent on long-standing intimate relationships with neighbouring societies, on the "new" world to the west, and on the ancient and densely populated societies to the east.

> The Pax Britannica was unique. Britain, in the three generations or so after the mid-eighteenth century, was able quietly to generate within itself the conditions making it possible for the country to dazzle the world with its industry. This almost secret gestation could occur because of the inadequacy of internal communications, and the great lags in the responses of other countries.[14]

The American Revolution, "the first great breach in the old colonial system"[15] aroused democratic and egalitarian, and even republican sentiments, among the middle class and the aristocracy in many parts of Europe.[16] In England both radicals and opposition Whigs were concerned with the events occurring in America;

> . . . both groups espoused the cause of American "liberties"; merchants in London, Bristol and Liverpool resented the interruption of loss of valuable colonial trade; and Nonconformists were inclined to sympathise with their Calvinist brethren in New England.[17]

In the concluding stages of the American War the peace-party, rather than the war-party, received "public" support and, it was in these circumstances, the Rockingham-Shelburne Ministry took office in 1782. The Versailles Treaty of September 1783 ended the American War.

Although there was clamour for change throughout Europe, only in two countries—the British American Colonies and France—did revolution reach the point of destroying the older authorities. And of these, only one—the French example—made a successful revolution entirely by their own efforts and, in so doing, brought about far-reaching social consequences.

MATERIAL PRE-CONDITIONS AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF CHANGE

During the lifetime of one generation the Industrial Revolution changed Britain from a traditional, agrarian-based society to the leading capitalist centre in the world. A network of factors established a situation in Britain which was highly condusive to technological development and commercial expansion. Four pre-conditions of industrialization have been identified which were evident in changing demographic, agricultural, commercial and transportation trends.[18]

Demographic Trends

One of the more obvious features of the Industrial Revolution was the dramatic increase in the population. In

1700 the population of Britain was about 7 million. Between 1740 and 1785 the population increased by two million, an increase which represented the beginning of a growth that was to be sustained at an accelerated rate until the 1830s.[19] Not only was there a dramatic increase in the population, but there was also a marked shift in the geographical distribution of the population.

In the first half of the eighteenth century quality of land was the single most important factor in population distribution. In general, people were where corn was most intensively cultivated. Industry too, often grew up in such areas and swelled an already relatively dense population. But as manufactures became more numerous and transport more efficient, areas in which the population was well in excess of the local agricultural capacity began to develop. Such areas included central Devonshire supported by woollen manufactures; the West Riding of Yorkshire similarly sustained and drawing support from coal mining and metal working; South Lancashire relying heavily on linen, cotton and woollen materials; and Tyneside and Wearside where coal and associated manufactures like glass and salt, were the most important industries. The woollen cloth manufactures were situated in the better agricultural areas of Wiltshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire. Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire contained the hardware trades which, supplemented by coal mining, were the economic base for the parts of these counties within twenty-five miles or so of

Birmingham. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex were counties which contained both excellent and poor agricultural land, and supported a large worsted industry with extensive export sales. Leicestershire, largely utilized for pasture farming which required little labour, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire employed thousands of people in the hosiery industry.

In is important to recognize that the implications of a rapid increase in population are not implications of size and geographical distribution alone, but also those arising from the relationship between population and production. If a balance is maintained, an increase in the population, which leads to increased demand for goods and services, is met by an increase in the labour power for the production of such goods and services. However, the increase in the labour force rarely corresponds with the increase in population.[20]

A complex two-way relationship of cause and effect shaped population increase and the growth of total national output. Though both trends were influenced by factors that could be regarded as independent,[21] their interaction had significant effects. Without the growth in output the associated growth in population would eventually have been checked by a rise in death rate due to declining standards of living. It is equally probable that without the population growth, industrialization would have been retarded for lack of labour. In addition, rising demand and prices, which reflected the growth of population, provided incentive for British producers to expand and innovate and, in this way, supplied some of the dynamism for the Industrial Revolution.[22]

Agricultural Change

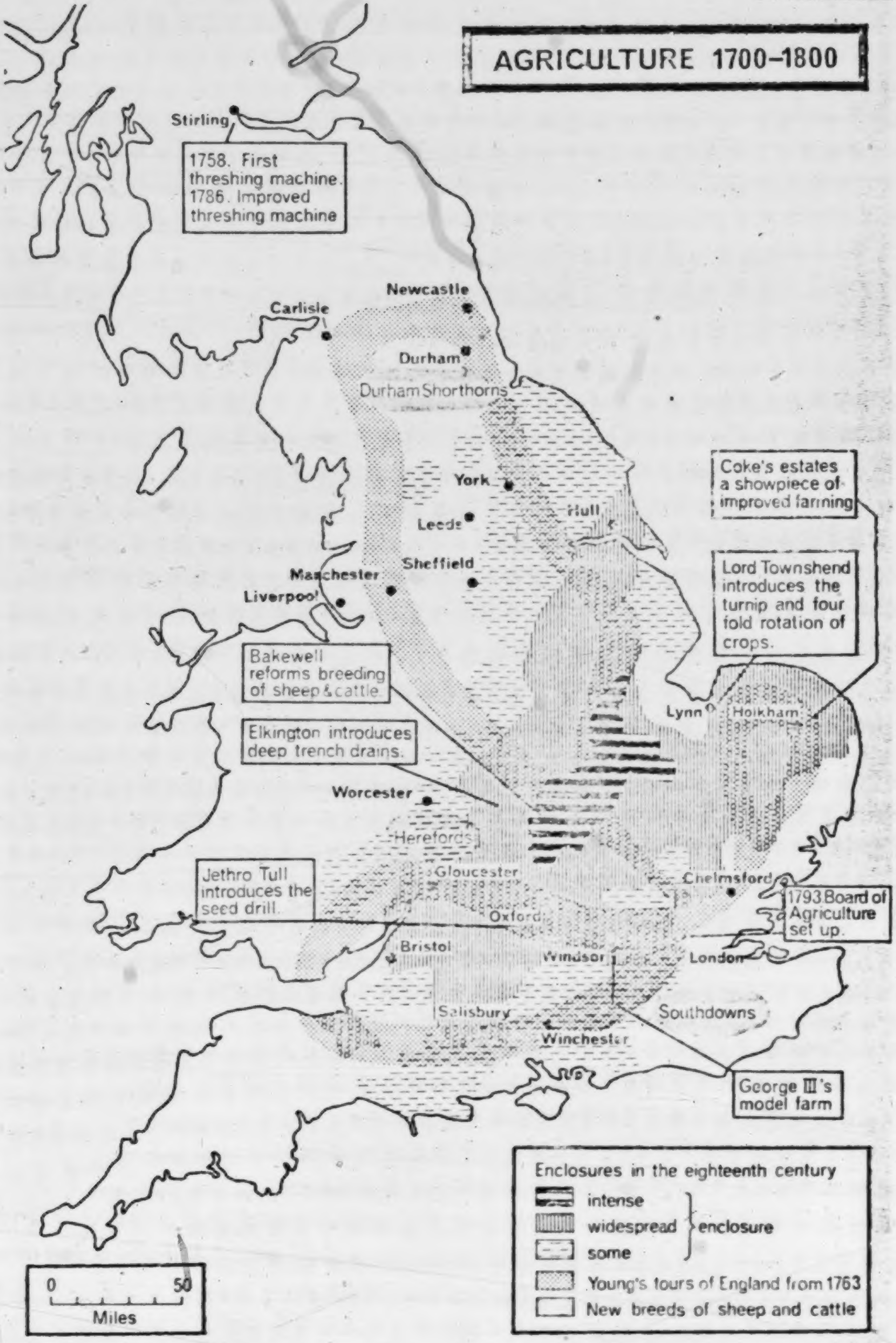
The increase in the population, while it provided a growing potential labour force, was naturally accompanied by an increase in the demand for food supplies. Demand for food could no longer be satisfied by traditional methods. The rapidly growing population and the increasingly significant diversion of labour from agriculture to industry was made possible by improved agricultural efficiency; both the area and the productivity of cultivation increased. At the same time low prices encouraged innovations as landowners searched for ways to reduce their costs. Agricultural change was largely dependent on three developments: new techniques of production; enclosure; and change of entrepreneurial attitudes.

New techniques of agricultural production. The latter half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century was the most innovative period in agricultural history.[23] During this time a number of key technical changes occurred which contributed significantly to increased agricultural productivity. These changes included innovation in agricultural machinery such as the introduction of the iron plough and the powered threshing machine, and the improvement and increased use of the seed-drill; the reduction of fallow through the introduction of better crop rotations; the selective breeding of livestock; and improvements in organization and technique which resulted in additions to the area of tillage.

Enclosures. The old enclosure movement had gone some part of the way to establishing the balance of arable land and pasture, and the great enclosures of the sixteenth century in Essex, Kent, Northamptonshire and Suffolk had resulted in these counties becoming the wealthiest in the country. But although the enclosure of open fields and the engrossment of small farms had been occurring steadily for over two hundred and fifty years, and had accelerated at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in 1740 there was still about a quarter of the agricultural land, excluding rough pasture, that lay open.

Through enclosure by private Act of Parliament, which became an established procedure in 1740 but was not widely used until the 1760s, traditional village economies were broken up to provide more favourable conditions for the implementation of scientific agriculture (see Map One). The resulting improvements in agricultural productivity helped the increasing demands to be met, but at a human cost. Many small farm workers, whose families had enjoyed the security of a cottage and land on their employers' estates, were driven off the land and away from their homes.

Change of entrepreneurial attitudes. One of the effects of these agricultural changes was their contribution to the preparation of the economic base of bourgeois society. The legal and parliamentary expenses arising from enclosure, the cost of fencing, the purchase of small holdings, the


AGRICULTURE 1700–1800
Stirling
1758. First threshing machine. 1786. Improved threshing machine
Newcastle
Carlisle
Durham
Durham Shorthorns
York
Hull
Leeds
Sheffield
Manchester
Liverpool
Coke's estates a showpiece of improved farming
Lord Townshend introduces the turnip and four fold rotation of crops.
Bakewell reforms breeding of sheep & cattle
Elkington introduces deep trench drains.
Lynn
Holkham
Worcester
Herefords
Gloucester
Jethro Tull introduces the seed drill.
Chelmsford
1793 Board of Agriculture set up.
Oxford
Bristol
Windsor
London
Salisbury
Southdowns
Winchester
George III's model farm
Enclosures in the eighteenth century
intense
widespread
some
enclosure
Young's tours of England from 1763
New breeds of sheep and cattle
0
50
Miles

MAP ONE

provision of roadways and buildings appropriate to business farm units was considerable.[24] Such developments throughout the country represented a considerable contribution to agricultural advance in the form of the provision of capital.

Few landed proprietors had the necessary surplus funds to reorganize their estates into efficient agricultural units. Even those who did have the funds might have been reluctant to sink them into their estates when the readily negotiable and reliable stocks of the government, the Bank of England and the East India Company offered attractive alternatives. Instead, landlords unable to meet the immediate costs of a particular development on their land from the rents of their tenants, would take up loans on the strength of their property. Agriculture became good business; it even became fashionable for a landed gentleman to take an interest in farming;

> Members of Parliament were more concerned, or affected to be more concerned, with their turnips than with the affairs of state. Cabinet ministers were reputed, by their friends rather than by their enemies, to open letters from their estate stewards before turning to official correspondence. . . . Much of this was doubtless drawingroom froth, but to the extent that it was genuine it served one very useful function: the salons, the balls, the parliamentary sessions acted as clearing houses for the dissemination of farming knowledge gleaned from trials and experience in various parts of the country.[25]

This new interest of the landed aristocracy, insofar as it was genuine, partially overcame one of the main obstacles to the diffusion of better methods; namely, the semi-isolation of farming regions.

Economic importance of agricultural change. The increase in agricultural productivity had important economic consequences. First, the new professional farmer became concerned with wider economic horizons than the market for home or regional consumption. Agriculture, supported by scientific knowledge and technology, increasingly began to direct its efforts towards producing for national and international markets. Second, increased incomes in agriculture inflated the purchasing power for the products of British industry. In this way a solid home market was created which justified large-scale production and ensured that factories were profitable. Finally, the agricultural industry provided a substantial part of the capital required to finance industrialization, even during a major war.[26]

Commercial Change

In the middle of the eighteenth century woollen textiles still accounted for more than half of English exports. However, the Atlantic trade and English plantations in the West Indies extended the range of commodities British merchants could sell in Europe. By the 1750s the volume of English re-exports had increased by 90 percent and by 1800 this trade was to expand at twice the rate. Britain's solution to the problems of matching demand and supply in the international market was to develop a "complex world-wide network of trading transactions centred on London."[27] In these transactions British merchants realized profits estimated by customs officials as about 15 percent of the value of the goods imported for re-export.

During the second half of the eighteenth century a market with North America began to be established. Americans, even after their independence, still bought from Britain by choice. In the period 1787-90, for example, they were taking 87 percent of their imports of manufactures from Britain.[28] British purchasing power in Europe was thus increased enabling her to purchase more timber, pitch and hemp for ships and buildings, high-grade bar iron for her metal trade, and raw and thrown silk for her textile trades.[29]

A number of important effects resulted from this increase in trade, and contributed to industrialization:

1) Additional foreign trade created a demand for the products of British industry;
2) International trade gave Britain access to raw materials which both widened the range and cheapened the products of industry;
3) International trade supplied poor, commercially undeveloped countries with the purchasing power to buy British goods;
4) An institutional structure and business ethic was created which was successful in promoting trade both at home and abroad;
5) An economic surplus was created which helped to finance industrial expansion and agricultural improvement.[30]

The prerequisites for the Industrial Revolution—a labour force that could be fed and capital which could be utilized—had been established. How the labour force was deployed and the projects in which capital was utilized now become the focus of attention.

Transport

For industrialization to proceed it was necessary for investment and innovation in transport to keep pace with investment and innovation in production. But there are problems attached to investment in transport. Entrepreneurs are often reluctant to finance such projects[31] and so the "social overhead capital" for these developments are usually provided by governments or financial institutions. This was not the case in Britain, for it was primarily private enterprise that provided both the initiative and the capital for the system of communications which were so essential to the progress of industrialization.

English roads were reputed to be the worst in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New techniques of road-making,[32] which produced roads able to stand up to heavy traffic, and a growing system of turnpike roads and toll-gates helped to remedy the situation. The standards of roads and road maintenance rose markedly during the period 1780-1832, the era of the stage coach. This meant that communication and travel improved, but all this did not appreciably aid commercial transport.

Commercial users required cheap, efficient ways of transporting bulky, heavy goods. The cheapest way was by water; by coastal routes and inland waterways. Adam Smith had recognized the fundamental importance of water carriage when he commented;

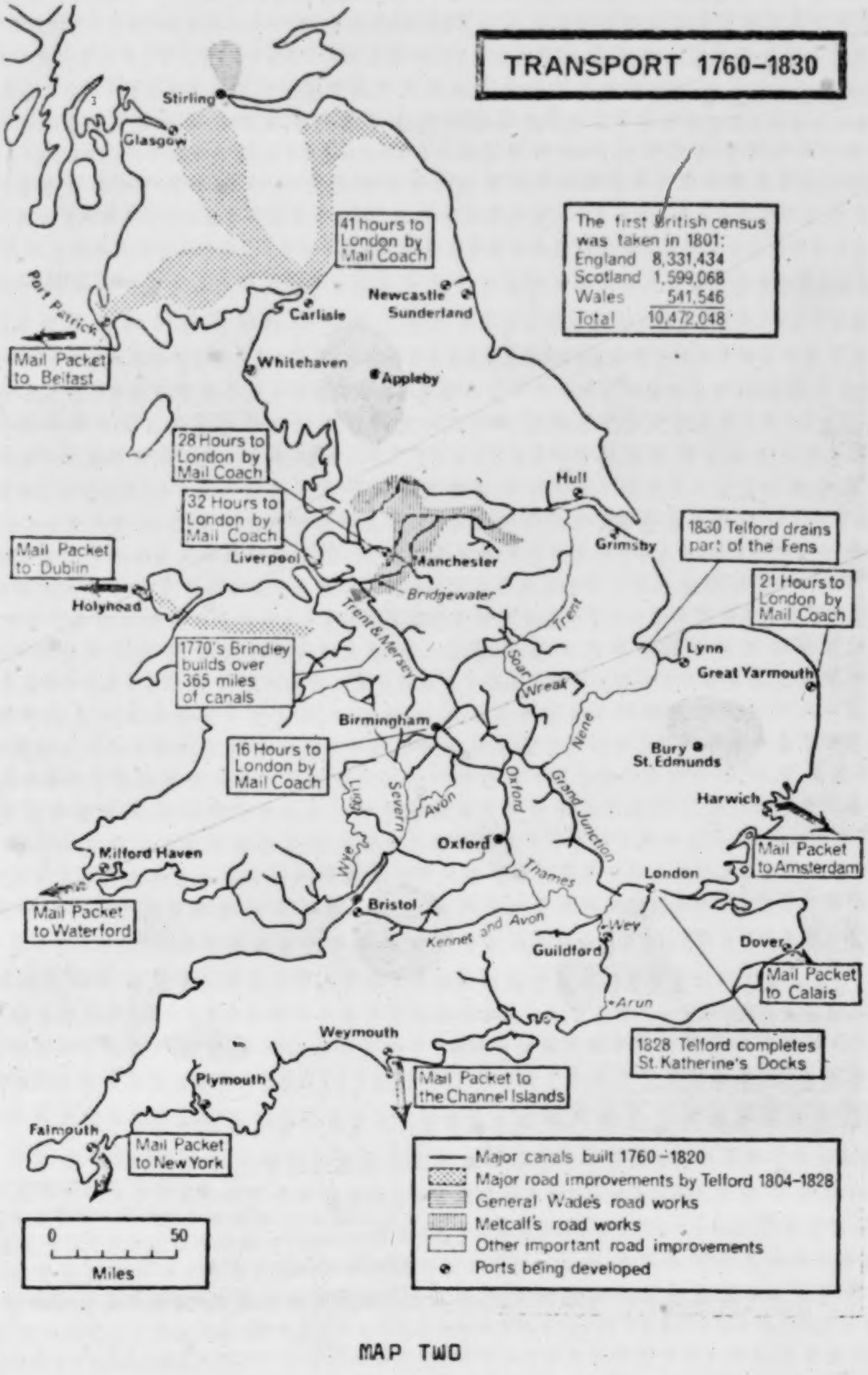
> . . . by means of water carriage a more extensive market is opened to every sort of industry than what land carriage alone can afford it, so it is upon the sea coast and along the banks of navigable rivers that industry of every kind naturally begins to subdivide and improve itself, and it is frequently not till a long time after that those improvements extend themselves to the inland parts of the country.[33]

Coastal shipping routes were already well established and played a vital part in the economy. Inland waterways in the form of navigable rivers were already in use at the beginning of the century, but it was not until the end of the 1760s and the beginning of the 1770s, and again in the 1780s, after the American War, that the boom in canal construction got underway. These developments greatly extended the capacity of the transport system[34] (see Map Two).

The capital for canal construction was usually raised locally in the region the canal was to serve. Local landowners, industrialists and colliers, in a corporate effort, raised the necessary money by using their capital as collateral.

By lowering transport costs the canals opened up new resources and stimulated the growth of new industries. Quarries, mines and manufacturing plants quickly developed along the canals. Areas which had, for all commercial

TRANSPORT 1760–1830


Stirling
Glasgow
41 hours to London by Mail Coach
Port Patrick
Mail Packet to Belfast
Carlisle
Newcastle
Sunderland
Whitehaven
Appleby
The first British census was taken in 1801:
England 8,331,434
Scotland 1,599,068
Wales 541,546
Total 10,472,048
28 Hours to London by Mail Coach
32 Hours to London by Mail Coach
Hull
Grimsby
Mail Packet to Dublin
Holyhead
Liverpool
Manchester
Bridgewater
Trent & Mersey
Trent
Soar
Wreak
1830 Telford drains part of the Fens
21 Hours to London by Mail Coach
Lynn
Great Yarmouth
1770's Brindley builds over 365 miles of canals
Birmingham
Nene
Bury St. Edmunds
16 Hours to London by Mail Coach
Lugg
Severn
Avon
Oxford
Grand Junction
Harwich
Mail Packet to Amsterdam
Milford Haven
Wye
Oxford
Thames
London
Mail Packet to Waterford
Bristol
Kennet and Avon
Wey
Guildford
Dover
Mail Packet to Calais
Arun
1828 Telford completes St.Katherine's Docks
Weymouth
Plymouth
Mail Packet to the Channel Islands
Falmouth
Mail Packet to New York
0
50
Miles
Major canals built 1760–1820
Major road improvements by Telford 1804–1828
General Wade's road works
Metcalf's road works
Other important road improvements
Ports being developed

MAP TWO

purposes, been inaccessable took on a new importance.

The development of the canals was a highly significant factor in the process of industrialization for the transport of goods by canal affected the productivity of the economy as a whole before the changes in other industries were at all sizeable. Canals proved to be "an absolutely crucial factor in facilitating the cost-reduction innovations which characterized the other transforming sectors of the first industrial revolution."[35]

Coal

If increasing population, more efficient agriculture, growing commercial trade and improved transport made the Industrial Revolution possible, it was the increasing availability of energy in the form of coal that made continued growth realizable. Coal mining had ranked as an important industry in Britain since the sixteenth century and, by 1780, coal output amounted to about 8 million tons. With the growing difficulty of obtaining wood, coal came to be the nation's main fuel both for domestic and industrial purposes.

The annual growth rate of coal production during the period 1780-1832 was about 2.25 percent, a rate which was similar to that of the industrial economy in general during the same period. Coal became closely linked to the iron industry and, by 1830, approximately a fifth of the coal output was going to this industry—almost a half of that used by all other industries.

Iron

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the iron industry was in a stagnant state, or even a state of decline. The industry faced an acute problem with raw materials: its native iron-ore resources were low grade, and charcoal, its main fuel at that time, was increasingly difficult to obtain. Eighteenth century innovations enabled charcoal gradually to be replaced by coal in the smelting process.

Abraham Darby had shown how iron could be smelted with coke in 1709, but it was not until Boulton and Watt developed an efficient steam engine, around 1775, that furnaces became effective enough to make coke-smelting the most efficient way to produce pig-iron. But the basic problem still remained—that of how to forge the bars for wrought-iron and steel. The coke furnace contributed by making cast-iron an acceptable substitute for wrought iron in certain products, but for heavy duty articles and all steel goods the British ores remained unsatisfactory. It was not until 1784, when Henry Cort's puddling and rolling process enabled the large-scale production of bar-iron to be undertaken with coal fuel, that the production of low priced, good quality, wrought-iron made charcoal and imported ores unnecessary except for the production of high grade steel.[36]

The industry expanded considerably during the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century. Now that British pig-iron could be used for wrought-iron as well as cast-iron products, its demand increased rapidly. Between

1788 and 1806 the output of British pig-iron quadrupled and, by 1812, although Swedish bar-iron was still being used by steel makers, Britain was exporting more than she was importing. By 1810, the annual output of British pig-iron was over a million tons of which over 60,000 tons were being exported.

The cheaper supplies of bar and pig-iron which resulted from these developments stimulated innovations in other processes.[37] As a result of these innovations and the growing demands for iron, the industry changed in structure and character. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the iron industry, already a large-scale capitalistic organization (it was perhaps the first capitalist industry[38]), and its iron masters operated on a scale beyond all previous experience.[39]

The iron industry played a "pervasive and stimulating" role in British industrialization, providing "cheaply and abundantly the commodity on which, more than any single material except coal, modern industry was to depend."[44] Continuous industrialization was dependent on the availability of coal and iron, and it would have been inconceivable without the steam engine and the technical progress in the iron industry. But ~~the~~ beginnings of industrialization are not to be found with iron and its related industries. Instead, it is necessary to look to the textile industry, especially cotton, to find the birth of modern large-scale industrial processes.

Cotton

Of the two industries that first experienced the revolutionary changes in technology and economic organization that made Britain "the workshop of the world," there is general agreement that cotton was the prime mover, while iron played an indispensable supportive function.[41] In little more than a generation the cotton industry grew from insignificance to the principal manufacture, and became the first manufacture to adopt labour-saving, power-driven machinery on a large scale to produce for home and international markets.

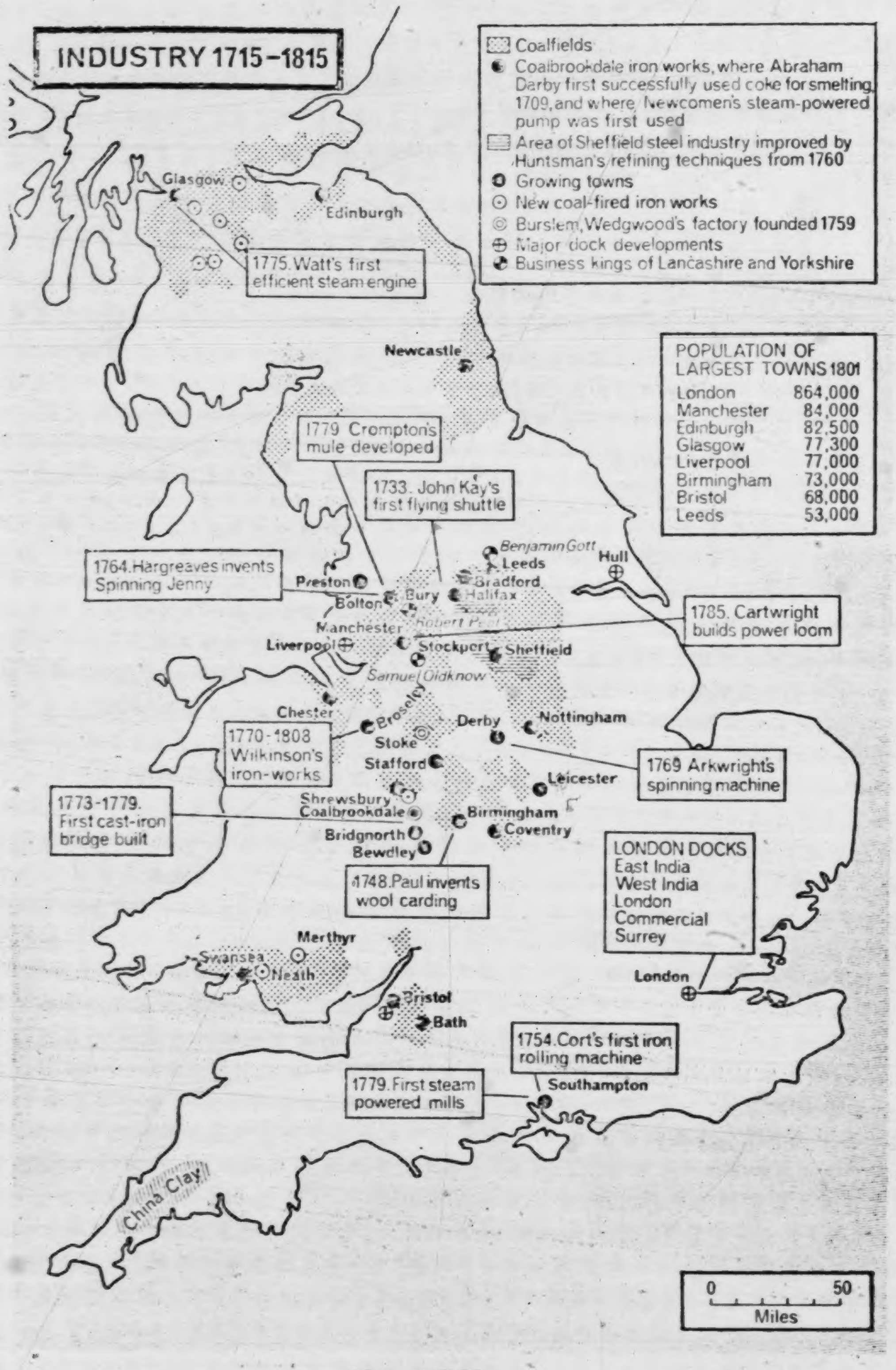
Textile manufactures had traditionally been an important part of the English national product. The numerous sheep grazing pastures throughout the country yielded a high quality wool which, together with the skills that had been developed by spinners and weavers, enabled excellent woollen cloth to be produced.

Starting in the 1750s, a series of major textile inventions were introduced which were to affect both cotton and woollen processing.[42] Arkwright's water frame (patented in 1779) enabled for the first time, cotton yarn to be produced that was strong enough to serve as warp as well as weft. The water frame was designed first as a horse-operated machine but, when powered by water and later by steam, it became a factory machine and marked the beginning of the end for domestic industry. Crompton's mule (patented in 1779), combining the principles of Hargreave's spinning jenny and the water frame, produced a smooth and finer yarn and enabled the British producer to offer a higher quality cloth than the Indian producer. The way had been opened for the development of a new and extensive industry.

During the 1780s and 1790s raw-cotton imports increased as much as eightfold. By 1812 "one spinner could produce as much in a given time as 200 could have produced before the invention of Hargreave's jenny."[43] As a result of these developments the character of the industry began to change. Spinners found themselves without work. Weavers, now able to rely on uninterrupted supplies of yarn, gave up their agricultural activities which had once provided the major part of their income, and moved to the towns to work full-time in manufacturing. Weavers, more fortunate than the spinners, were not seriously threatened by industrialization until the power loom was introduced on a large scale in the 1820s and 1830s.

By 1812 cotton had overtaken the woollen industry in national importance, accounting for between 7 and 8 percent of Britain's national income, and employing about 100,000 workers in cotton-spinning factories and probably as many as 250,000 weavers and their auxiliaries working on cotton goods. By 1815 exports of cotton textiles accounted for about 40 percent of the value of British domestic exports; by 1830, this had increased to over 50 percent.

It is probable that the spectacular success of the cotton industry set an example which may well have been a significant factor in the growth of other industries, but its


INDUSTRY 1715-1815
▨ Coalfields
● Coalbrookdale iron works, where Abraham Darby first successfully used coke for smelting, 1709, and where Newcomen's steam-powered pump was first used
▤ Area of Sheffield steel industry improved by Huntsman's refining techniques from 1760
● Growing towns
⊙ New coal-fired iron works
◎ Burslem, Wedgwood's factory founded 1759
⊕ Major dock developments
● Business kings of Lancashire and Yorkshire
Glasgow
Edinburgh
1775. Watt's first efficient steam engine
Newcastle
1779 Crompton's mule developed
1733. John Kay's first flying shuttle
Benjamin Gott
Leeds
Hull
Bradford
Halifax
1764. Hargreaves invents Spinning Jenny
Preston
Bury
Bolton
Robert Peel
Manchester
1785. Cartwright builds power loom
Liverpool
Stockport
Sheffield
Samuel Oldknow
Chester
Broseley
Derby
Nottingham
1770-1808 Wilkinson's iron-works
Stoke
Stafford
1769 Arkwright's spinning machine
Leicester
Shrewsbury
Coalbrookdale
1773-1779. First cast-iron bridge built
Birmingham
Coventry
Bridgnorth
Bewdley
1748. Paul invents wool carding
LONDON DOCKS
East India
West India
London
Commercial
Surrey
Merthyr
Swansea
Neath
London
Bristol
Bath
1754. Cort's first iron rolling machine
1779. First steam powered mills
Southampton
China Clay
0
50
Miles

POPULATION OF LARGEST TOWNS 1801

London	864,000
Manchester	84,000
Edinburgh	82,500
Glasgow	77,300
Liverpool	77,000
Birmingham	73,000
Bristol	68,000
Leeds	53,000

MAP THREE

importance should not be overestimated. There is good reason to believe that industrialization was the result of a cluster of innovations, to use Schumpeter's phrase. Rather than any one specific innovation, it was a cluster of innovations which had decisive effects resulting from their close proximity in time, their mutually reinforcing characteristics, and their occurrence when Britain's naval supremacy and commercial contacts enabled her to take advantage of rising North American and European incomes.

SUMMARY

In this chapter an account of the material conditions of industrializing Britain has been presented. Much has been written on the events and circumstances leading to the Industrial Revolution, and all that is attempted here is an overview of the main contributing factors.

The period 1780-1832 was one in which a rapid growth in population took place. The distribution of the population also changed. There was a distinct shift of population density from rural to urban areas.

A marked improvement in agricultural methods and agricultural technology made increased agricultural productivity possible. At the same time, the principal economic activity changed from agriculture to industry. British culture changed from a traditional, agrarian society, supported by commercial and industrial sectors, to an early capitalist state managed by a landed aristocracy.

Other changes in economic activity included: a change in the principal economic unit from the extended family to the corporate group; a shift in the focus of economic activity from production to cater for local markets to production to cater for national and international markets; an accompanying increase in trade with foreign markets; a redistribution of labour power from labour directed towards the productivity of primary products to labour directed towards the productivity of manufactured goods and services; and a substitution of capital resources for, or as a complement to, human labour.

Complex technology grew rapidly, especially that associated with coal, iron, and textiles, which were becoming interdependent. Improved methods of communication between industrial areas and urban centres enabled both goods and ideas to be transmitted relatively rapidly from area to area.

NOTES

[1] The main urban centres and their approximate populations in 1740 were:

London	675,000
Edinburgh . . .	40,000
Norwich	30,000
Bristol	30,000
Birmingham . . .	25,000
Glasgow	15,000
Liverpool . . .	15,000
Manchester . . .	15,000

The population of all these cities amounted to about 12 percent of the total population. Another 5 percent of the population lived in towns ranging from 15,000 to 2,000 people. So, in 1740, 80-85 percent of the population still lived in the country.

[2] Only three of the urban centres could be described as industrial centres in the sense that their economic base was the manufacturing of goods and extensive marketing. These were Norwich, noted for its high quality worsteds; Manchester, which produced assorted textiles; and Birmingham, where hardwares were manufactured. Even, these centres were not exclusively production centres for they were also marketing and distribution centres for rural manufactures whose output exceeded their own.

[3] L. H. Jencks, The Migration of British Capital to 1875, 1927, pp. 9-10.

[4] H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880, 1972, p. 4.

[5] P. Deane, The First Industrial Revolution 1955, p. 1.

[6] Toynbee, one of the first historians to analyze the Industrial Revolution in any detail, in Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England (1884), takes 1760 as the starting point of the revolution. Other writers, such as Mantoux in The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century (1961), Ashton in The Eighteenth Century (1955) and Hoffman in British Industry 1700-1950 (1955) cite the early 1780s as the significant years when industrial output and economic growth showed marked increases. All these writers would place the Industrial Revolution within the time period 1750-1850. Two exceptions to this general consensus are Neff and Rostow. J. U. Neff, in Economic History Review (1934), stressing the essential continuity in history, traces the beginnings of large-scale technological change

back to the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. By way of contrast, W. W. Rostow, in The Stages of Economic Growth (1960), suggests that the exact period 1783-1802 marks the "take-off into self-sustained growth."

[7] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 2.

[8] Ibid., p. 8.

[9] E. J. Hobsbawm, in The Age of Revolution 1789-1848, writes; "The great revolution of 1789-1848 was the triumph not of 'industry' as such, but of capitalist industry; not of liberty and equality in general, but of middle class or bourgeois liberal society; not of 'the modern economy' or 'the modern state' but of the economies and states in a particular geographical region of the world (part of Europe and a few patches of North America), whose centre was the neighbouring and rival states of Great Britain and France" (ibid., pp. 17-18).

[10] G. K. Hogendorp, Brieven en Gedenkschriften, vol. III, 1876, pp. 60-61 in The New Cambridge Modern History, vol. VIII, 1968, p. 422.

[11] G. Rudé, Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815, 1964, p. 9.

[12] Ibid., pp. 11-15.

[13] S. G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885, 1964, pp. 3-4.

[14] Ibid., p. 4.

[15] Ibid., p. 44.

[16] R. R. Palmer in The Age of Democratic Revolution, listed twenty-six books on America that appeared in three or four European languages between 1760 and 1790. Rudé (1964) comments that the space devoted to the New World in the rapidly expanding press of a dozen countries is more impressive still.

[17] G. Rudé, op. cit., p. 44.

[18] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 84.

[19] The first full census of population for England and Wales was taken in 1801 and no official registration of births and deaths was kept until 1839. The population statistics for the period, then, are incomplete and the figures used for English population trends between 1700 and 1800 are estimates based largely on records of baptisms, burials and marriages which John Rickman, the first director

of the Census, got the parish clergy to extract for him from the church registers at decade intervals throughout the eighteenth century (Deane, 1965, pp. 22,23).

[20] The increase in the labour force did not correspond with the increase in population at the end of the eighteenth century. The majority of the non-workers were those below working age (20-30 percent of the population as compared to the 2-3 percent beyond working age). B. Murphy, A History of the British Economy, 1973, p. 333.

[21] For example, in the case of population, by essentially non-economic factors which helped to reduce the long-term birth rate. In the case of output, by such factors as the growth of foreign markets and the widening of the technological horizon (Deane, 1965, p. 34).

[22] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 34.

[23] See G. E. Fussel, The Farmer's Tools 1500-1900 (London, 1952), who has shown that there were only seven important agricultural innovations in the seventeenth century, eight between 1701 and 1750, thirty between 1751 and 1814, and sixteen between 1815 and 1848.

[24] A 10,000 acre estate might require an outlay of as much as 100,000 pounds sterling (Murphy, op. cit., p. 339).

[25] B. Murphy, op. cit., p. 336.

[26] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 50.

[27] Ibid., p. 53. E. J. Hobsbawm has described this world-wide network of trading transactions as "a vast deployment of trade, which was closely tied to colonial exploitation." He outlines its main features as follows;

> "A system of maritime trade currents, growing rapidly in volume and capacity, circled the earth, bringing its profits to the mercantile communities of North Atlantic Europe. They used colonial power to rob the inhabitants of the East Indies of the commodities exported thence to Europe and Africa, where these and European goods were used to buy slaves for the rapidly growing plantation systems of the Americas. The American plantation in turn exported their sugar, cotton, etc., in ever cheaper quantities to the Atlantic and North Sea ports, whence they were redistributed eastwards, together with the traditional manufactures and commodities of European East-West trade: textiles, salt, wine and the rest. From 'the Baltic' in turn came the grain, timber, flax and linen (a profitable export to the tropics), hemp and iron of this second colonial zone. And between the relatively developed economies of Europe—which included,

economically speaking, the increasingly active communities of white settlers in the northern British colonies of America (after 1783, the Northern U.S.A.)—the webb of trade became ever more dense (E. J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, 1962, p. 35).

[28] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 57.

[29] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[30] Ibid., pp. 66-68.

[31] Such investments require much greater outlays of capital than individual entrepreneurs can usually provide. Transport projects take a long time to complete and an even longer time to yield a substantial profit. And, when the profit eventually materializes, the gross return on the investment goes indirectly to the community as a whole rather than to the entrepreneurs who initiated the project.

[32] Strictly speaking, these techniques were not new. John Metcalf's system of road-making was essentially the same as that used by the Romans. Telford and Macadem simply introduced variations of this basic design.

[33] A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations, (1776) 1974, p. 122.

[34] "It has been established that by the end of the eighteenth century some 2,000 miles of navigable water existed in England, of which approximately one third was in the form of canals built between 1760 and 1800; one third was in the form of 'open' rivers which were naturally navigable; and the remaining third had been created as a result of the work of engineers, chiefly between about 1600 and 1760" (Skempton in C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall and T. Williams, History of Technology, III, 1946, p. 456.

[35] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 83.

[36] Three features of Cort's process made it an important advance: (1) it used coal fuel throughout and so escaped the dependence on charcoal which made British bar-iron such a costly product, (2) it converted native pig-iron to bars which were at least as good as the Swedish product, and (3) it made a single process of a series of operations—puddling (i.e., melting and stirring), hammering and rolling—which had hitherto been disconnected (Deane, ibid., p. 107).

[37] Among these could be mentioned Wilkinson's steam-hammer; Cort's steam-powered rolling mill; and machines for drawing, cutting and working metal including drills for boring cannons, metal turning lathes and machines for turning screws and forging nails.

[38] "From the earliest period of which we have exact information iron-making in this country has been conducted on capitalistic lines—capitalistic not only in that the workers are dependent on an employer for their raw material and market, but also in that they are brought together in a 'works,' are paid wages and perform their duties not dissimilar to those of any large industry in modern times" (T. S. Ashton, Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution, 1924, p. 1).

[39] John Wilkinson's industrial empire included collieries, tin mines, iron foundaries, forges, warehouses and landing-stages: it extended over Wales, Cornwall, the Midlands, London, and France: he even coined his own money (see P. Deane, op. cit., p. 109).

[40] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 114.

[41] J. A. Schumpeter, Business Cycles, vol. I, (1939, p. 271), with reference to the cotton industry, asserted that "English industrial history can (1787-1842) . . . be almost resolved into the history of a single industry."

[42] These innovations included Kay's flying shuttle (introduced in the 1730s but not widely used until the 1750s and 1760s); Paul's carding machine (patented in 1748 and first used extensively in Lancashire about 1760); Hargreave's spinning-jenny (probably invented about 1764 and patented in 1770 but not used widely until the 1780s); Arkwright's water-frame (patented in 1769); and Crompton's mule (patented in 1779), which combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame.

[43] P. Deane, op. cit., p. 87.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATIFICATION, CLASS, AND IDEOLOGY IN INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN

> The economic categories are only the theoretical expressions, the abstractions, of the social relations of production. . . . Social relations are intimately connected with the forces of production. In acquiring new forces of production, men change their mode of production, their way of earning their living; they change all their social relations. . . .
>
> The same men who establish social relations in conformity with their material power of production, also produce principles, laws, and categories, in conformity with their social relations. Thus these ideas and categories are no more eternal than the relations which they express. They are *historical* and *transient products*.
>
> There is a continuous movement of growth of the productive forces, of destruction of social relations, of formation of ideas; nothing is immutable but the abstract movement—*mors immortalis*.
>
> Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) in T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel, eds., *Karl Marx*, 1969, pp. 108-9.

INTRODUCTION

During the period 1780-1832 the British economy reached unprecedented levels of productivity, and created the framework of the modern industrial system. But the Industrial Revolution did more than this; as well as revolutionizing technology and associated institutions, the events of this period led to profound changes in other sectors of British society. It was, " . . . no mere sequence of changes in industrial techniques and production but a social revolution. . . . a social revolution in social organization. . . . with social causes as well as social effects."[1] More specifically;

> It tore up by the roots old social relationships and institutions which had seemed to be fairly well established. It destroyed the old life of the village, and created the new factory town. It compelled Parliament to reform itself, and raised the middle class to political power as well as affluence. And last but not least, it created the modern wage-earning class—the proletariat which, nominally free, can only live by selling its labour for a wage.[2]

The revolutionary changes accompanying industrialization, as well as resulting in a changed social order, and changed personnel in key positions, was necessarily accompanied by a decline of the system of norms and values which legitimated and ensured the continuation of pre-industrial society.

Pre-industrial society was a relatively static social structure in which the landlord's status was determined by tradition as well as gradations of property, power, and prestige. It was precisely the features of tradition, of established rights and duties, that were destroyed by the Industrial Revolution. The new focus dramatically revised human expectations, and the process of industrialization produced a new level of human consciousness;

> . . . [it changed] men's ideas about society from a more or less static conception of the world where from generation to generation men were destined to remain in the station of life to which they had been appointed by birth, and where departure from tradition was contrary to nature, into a conception of progress as a law of life and of continual improvement as the normal state of any healthy society.[3]

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The society from which the Industrial Revolution arose has been described as "an open aristocracy based on property and patronage."[4] Gregory King and Patrick Colquhoun, in their famous estimates of income distribution in 1688 and 1803, give some idea of the shape and character of English society prior to and during the Industrial Revolution (TABLE ONE).

The "lower orders" prior to industrialization were made up of labourers, cottagers, seamen, soldiers, paupers, and vagrants. A relatively high percentage of the population were in the latter two categories. In 1803, over a million people (11 percent) were said to be on poor relief, which amounted to 5,348,205 pounds sterling.[5]

The "middle ranks" were a diverse group which, according to some observers, explained the "admirable manner" in which British society was organized;

TABLE ONE

Distribution of the National Income, England and Wales, 1688 and 1803

	King, 1688			Colquhoun, 1803		
	Families	Income per Family	Aggregate Income	Families	Income per Family	Aggregate Income
		£	£000		£	£000
I						
Aristocracy						
Sovereign	—	—	—	1	200,000	200
Peers	160	2,800	448	287	8,000	2,296
Bishops	26	1,300	33·8	26	4,000	104
Baronets	800	880	704	540	3,000	1,620
Knights	600	650	390	350	1,500	525
Esquires	3,000	450	1,350*	6,000	1,500	9,000
Gentlemen	12,000	280	3,360*	20,000	700	14,000
Fundholders (included above)	—	—	—	—	—	5,056
	16,586	—	6,285·8	27,204	—	32,801
II						
Middle Ranks						
(1) *Agriculture*						
Freeholders (1)	40,000	84	3,360	40,000	200	8,000
Freeholders (2)	140,000	50	7,000	120,000	90	10,800
Farmers	150,000	44	6,600	160,000	120	19,200
(2) *Industry and Commerce*						
Merchants (1)	2,000	400	800	2,000	2,600	5,200
Merchants (2)	8,000	200	1,600	13,000	800	10,400
Manufacturers	—	—	—	25,000	800	20,000
Warehousemen	—	—	—	500	800	400
Shipbuilders	—	—	—	300	700	210
Shipowners	—	—	—	5,000	500	2,500
Surveyors, engineers	—	—	—	5,000	200	1,000
Tailors, etc.	—	—	—	25,000	150	3,750
Shopkeepers, etc.	40,000	45	1,800	74,500	150	11,175
Innkeepers	—	—	—	50,000	100	5,000
Clerks, shopmen	—	—	—	30,000	75	6,750
(3) *Professions*						
Civil offices (1)	5,000	240	1,200	2,000	800	1,600
Civil offices (2)	5,000	120	600	10,500	200	2,100
Law	10,000	140	1,400	11,000	350	3,850
Clergy (1)	2,000	60	120	1,000	500	500
Clergy (2)	8,000	45	360	10,000	120	1,200
Dissenting clergy	—	—	—	2,500	120	300
Arts, sciences	16,000	60	960	16,300	260	4,238
Education (1)	—	—	—	500	600	300
Education (2)	—	—	—	20,000	150	3,000
Naval officers	5,000	80	400	3,000	149	1,043
Army officers	4,000	60	240	5,000	139	1,816
Half-pay officers	—	—	—	2,000	45	181
Theatrical	—	—	—	500	200	100
Lunatic keepers	—	—	—	40	500	20
	435,000	—	26,340	634,640	—	121,655
III						
Lower Orders						
Artisans	60,000	40	2,400	445,726	55	24,515
Hawkers, pedlars	—	—	—	800	40	32
Mines, canals	—	—	—	40,000	40	1,600
Seamen						
common	50,000	20	1,000	67,099	40	2,684*
naval				38,175	38	1,451*
Soldiers	35,000	14	490	50,000	29	1,450*
Labourers	364,000	15	5,460	340,000	31	10,540
Lunatics	—	—	—	(2,500)†	30	75
Debtors	—	—	—	2,000	25	50
Pensioners (forces)	—	—	—	30,500	20	610
Paupers, cottagers	400,000	6·5	2,600	260,179	(26·4)	6,869
Vagrants	10,000‡	2	60	74,000‡	10	2,220
	919,000	—	12,010	1,346,479	—	52,086
	1,370,586	—	44,635·8	2,008,323	—	209,550

Summary: Percentage Distribution

	King, 1688		Colquhoun, 1803	
	Families	Income	Families	Income
I Aristocracy	1·2	14·1	1·4	15·7
II Middle Ranks	31·7	59·0	31·6	59·4
III Lower Orders	67·1	26·9	67·0	24·9
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

NOTES

Sources: Gregory King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England, 1696* (ed. George Chalmers, 1804), and Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence* (1806).

* Original figures corrected by recalculating from average income of group (and corresponding adjustments made to totals).

† Lunatics assumed to be individuals from other families and excluded from family total.

‡ 30,000 and 222,000 vagrants also treated as individuals and excluded from family totals by King and Colquhoun, but here allowed one family to three vagrants and included in totals.

> In most other countries, society presents scarcely anything between an ignorant labouring population, and a needy and profligate nobility; . . . but with us the space between the ploughman and the peer, is crammed with circle after circle, fitted in the most admirable manner for sitting upon each other, for connecting the former with the latter, and for rendering the whole perfect in cohesion, strength and beauty.[6]

The main distinguishing feature between the middle ranks and the lower orders was not so much higher incomes as property, however small, represented by stock in trade, livestock, tools, or the educational investment of skill or expertise. At the other end of the social order, the middle ranks were distinguished from the aristocracy not so much by lower incomes as by the necessity of earning their living. Perkin describes the diversity of the middle ranks as follows;

> From the great overseas merchants, officials and judges who vied in wealth with many peers, mingled on easy terms with royal ministers, married their daughters into the aristocracy, and crowned their careers by founding landed families, they ranged down to small farmers and semi-independent craftsmen as hard pressed as the labourer himself.[7]

Colquhoun's "aristocracy" amounted to over sixteen thousand families, that is, about one family in 70 or 80 (1.4 percent) in 1803. This group received about a seventh (15.7 percent) of the national income.

SOCIAL CLASS

The analytical concept of class soon follows from the social groups which become evident in the stratification of society according to economic categories. John Millar anticipated Marx's three-class division of capitalist society as is evident in the following passage;

> The whole property of a [commercial] country, and the subsistence of all its inhabitants . . . may be derived from the rent of land and water; from the profits of stock and capital; and from the wages of labour: and, in conformity with this arrangement, the inhabitants may be divided into landlords, capitalists and labourers.[8]

At the basis of Marx's theory of class is the fundamental conflict between the owners of accumulated labour and the owners of direct labour. Marx believed that this would eventually come to a climax between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the capitalist entrepreneurs and the wage-labourers. As he wrote in the nineteenth century he identified three main classes in Britain—the landowners, the capitalists and the labourers. He was also fully aware of the existence and the importance of the intermediate classes. But he became more concerned to forecast the future conflict between the two major classes than with the significance of the intermediate classes in the transitional stage. These intermediate stages, however, are crucial to an understanding of the period under discussion. Neale has suggested a Five-class model in which the concept "class" is more than a social stratification yet less than a social class in the Marxian sense of the concept. Neale argues that the notion of fluctuation during the early nineteenth century is more revealing than a perspective which focuses on the polarization of classes.[9] Since the concept of class is central to this study, it is discussed in detail in the following section.

EXCURSUS ON CLASS

Marx's Theory of Class and Class Conflict[10]

The concept of class is fundamental to Marx's interpretation of history—"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." For Marx, the class struggle was the primary motive force of history;

> With the moment in which civilisation begins, production begins to be based on the antagonism between accumulated and direct labour. Without conflict, no progress: that is the law which civilisation has followed to the present day. Until now the forces of production have developed by virtue of the dominance of class conflict.[11]

The transition from the feudal mode of production to the capitalist mode of production led to the development of three major classes;

> The owners of mere labour power, the owners of capital and the landowners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and rent of land, or in other words, wage-labourers, capitalists and landowners, form the three great classes of modern society based on the capitalist mode of production.[12]

Marx posited that during the capitalist mode of production the class struggle would move closer towards its "pure" form —the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat—and it was this struggle that he regarded as "the great lever of modern social change."

What constitutes a class? Marx makes it clear that it is not just a matter of the size of income;

> The vulgar mind commutes class differences into "differences in the size of purses" and class conflict into "trade disputes." The size of the purse is a purely quantitative difference, by virtue of which two individuals

> of the same class can be opposed quite arbitrarily . . . modern class differences are by no means based on "trade." Rather, the division of labour has created very different types of work within the same class.[13]

Essential to Marx's position was the recognition that income, and source of income were themselves a result of the class structure. Both income and property are the result of the structure of economic conditions and, as such, are criteria belonging to the realm of distribution and consumption. Marx explains that distribution and consumption—the use of products—is determined by the social relations of the consumers, and these social relations themselves rest on the conflict of classes. Since distribution is itself a product of production, the kind of participation in production determines the way in which people participate in distribution. The elements of class, then, are to be found in production and in the power relations determined by it.

Property and economic power. In his studies Marx demonstrates that property has developed differently at different stages of history and under various conditions, but it has always been the essential condition that determines the mode of production. It has provided the constituent element of classes and the momentum of social change. But the concept "property" should not be defined too narrowly for "to define bourgeois property means no less than to describe all the social conditions of bourgeois production."[14] Property, in the context of bourgeois society, should be understood as the private ownership of the means of production, as the control of a minority over the wealth of the nation. In conceiving of property in this way it is possible to appreciate the basis of the antagonism existing in production and creating class conflict. As Marx and Engels wrote in the Manifesto;

> [the] condition of the existence and the domination of the bourgeois class is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private persons, the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition of capital is wage labour.[15]

Marx regarded the existence of capital and wage labour, of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as a condition of the particular form of property in bourgeois society; that is, in terms of the ownership of the means of production.

An individual's material conditions of existence are based on his position in the process of production: "Economic conditions have first converted the mass of the population into workers. The rule of capital has created for this mass a common situation."[16]

> In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions which separate their way of life, their interests, and their education from those of other classes and oppose them to these, they constitute a class.[17]

These economic conditions—the distribution of property in production—are necessary but not sufficient conditions for the formation of classes. While economic conditions create a difference between groups they do not necessarily produce an antagonism;

> . . . in so far as the identity of their interests does not produce a community, national association, and political organisation—they do not constitute a class.[18]

Marx notes that a second and more important consequence of the distribution of property in production is that it determines the distribution of political power in society. Authority relations in production determine the authority relations of society in general. This position is made clear in the following passage;

> The specific form in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of the immediate producers determines the relation of domination and subjection as it grows directly out of and in turn determines production. On this is based the whole structure of the economic community as it comes forth from the relations of production, and thereby at the same time its political structure. It is always the immediate relation of the owners of the conditions of the means of production to the immediate producers—a relation whose specific pattern of course always corresponds to a certain stage in the development of labour and its social force of production—in which we find the final secret, the hidden basis of the whole construction of society, including the political patterns of sovereignty and dependence, in short, of a given specific form of government.[19]

As well as determining the economic and political power structure, the mode of production also shapes the ideas that mold the character of the period;

> On the different forms of property and the social conditions of existence a whole superstructure of various and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought, and conceptions of life is built. The whole class creates and forms these out of its material foundations and the corresponding social relations.[20]

The relation between property and production, production and power, and production and ideas leads Marx to the conclusion that;

> . . . the ruling ideas of a period have always been nothing but the ideas of the ruling class. In each epoch, the thoughts of the ruling class are the ruling thoughts; i.e., the class that is the ruling material

> power of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual power. The class that has the means of material production in its control, controls at the same time the means of intellectual production.21

Class organization and class struggle. As conflicts between the individual worker and individual bourgeois intensify, class organization occurs as workers begin to form coalitions against the bourgeois to maintain their wage. This concern of the proletariat with wages takes place at a relatively early phase of capitalist development;

> As long as the rule of the bourgeois class had not organised itself fully, and had not acquired its pure political expression, the opposition of the other classes could not come forth in its pure form either, and where it did come forth, it could not take that dangerous turn which converts every struggle against government into a struggle against capital.22

Classes are political groups united by a common interest. The formation of classes occurs with the organization of common interests in the sphere of politics. Consequently;

> . . . every movement in which the working class as such opposes the ruling class and seeks to destroy its power by pressure from without is a political movement. The attempt, for example, to extort a limitation of working time in a single factory or trade, and from individual capitalists, by strikes, etc., is a purely economic movement; but the movement to enforce legislation stipulating an eight-hour day, etc., is a political movement. And in this manner a political movement grows everywhere out of the isolated economic movements of the workers; i.e., it is a movement of the class in order to realise its interests in a general form, in a form that possesses universal constraining force.23

A theoretical class consciousness develops at the same time as the political organization of the classes (that is, there is a developing individual awareness of the interests of the class in general).

Exchange between classes occurs in the early stage of class formation when the ruling class is still concerned with consolidating its power—"the more capable a ruling class is of absorbing the best men of the oppressed class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule."[24]

A Propositional Statement of Marx's Theory of Class

1) Production in civilized society to date has been based on the antagonism between accumulated and direct labour. Progress has resulted from this conflict.

2) The capitalist mode of production resulted in the development of three major classes; landowners, capitalists (owners of capital), and labourers (owners of labour only), whose respective sources of income are rent, profit and wages.

    2.1 Property, income and source of income are all a result of the structure of economic conditions—they belong to the realm of distribution and consumption.

    2.2 The patterns of distribution and consumption are determined by the way people participate in production.

3) In bourgeois society the control of a minority over the wealth of the whole nation leads to the formation of two competing groups—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—which are evident in the existence of capital and wage labour respectively.

3.1 The political power of the bourgeois class arises from the authority relations of production.

3.2 The authority relations of production shape the ideas that form the character of the period.

3.3 The class struggle between bourgeoisie (entrepreneurs) and proletariat (labourers) represents in "pure form" the final development of the antagonism between accumulated and direct labour.

4) Material conditions of existence are based on the individual's position in production.

4.1 Industrialization converted the majority of the population into proletariat (those who have only their labour power to sell in the market).

5) The proletariat share a common situation in relation to capital (they produce it but own none).

5.1 A necessary, but not sufficient, condition of this (and any other) group qualifying as a class are the economic conditions which separate their interests, education, and way of life; and lead them to oppose those of other groups.

5.2 A second condition of this group of workers becoming a class is that they recognize an antagonism between their interests and those of others, and, in so doing, produce;

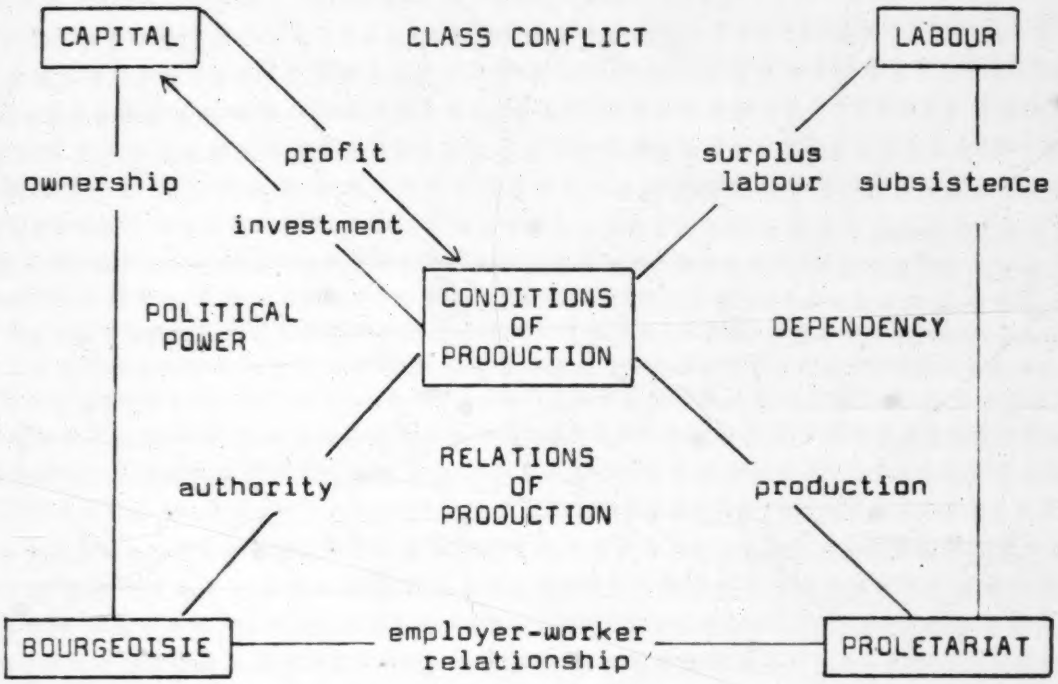
a) a distinctive community,

b) a political organization, and

c) a national association.

TABLE TWO

DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF
THEORY OF CLASS


CAPITAL
CLASS CONFLICT
LABOUR
ownership
profit
investment
surplus
labour
subsistence
POLITICAL
POWER
CONDITIONS
OF
PRODUCTION
DEPENDENCY
authority
RELATIONS
OF
PRODUCTION
production
BOURGEOISIE
employer-worker
relationship
PROLETARIAT

Dahrendorf and Neale on Class

We have seen that Marx was fully aware of the existence and importance of the intermediate classes. However, he became more concerned to forecast the future division and conflict between the two major classes than with the significance of the intermediate classes in the transitional stage.

Neale argues that these intermediate classes are crucial to an understanding of social change during the early nineteenth century. In examining social change during this period he finds the notion of fluctuation ("ebbing and flowing") between classes more revealing than a perspective which focuses on the polarization of classes. Neale points out that most models of class specify that class must be defined according to objective criterion like income, source of income, occupation, wealth or education. Social class conflict is then seen as the product of antagonisms generated by differences, generally extreme difference, of income and/or property relations. "Thus by definition," as Neale indicates, "conflict generated by other polarities [illegible] complex inter-relationships is not class conflict."[25] Because of the limitations Neale perceives in the traditional conceptualization of class applied to the period with which he is dealing, he turns to Dahrendorf's work on class.

Dahrendorf emphasizes the importance of making a distinction between sorting people into groups according to some objective criteria like income, and identifying the nature of conflict groups in society. It is methodologically important, he insists, to keep the two notions distinct. One should accordingly distinguish between social stratification, sorting according to objective criteria; and social class, referring to identifiable conflict groups. If it can be shown that intra-societal conflict always arises from stratification polarities like rich vs. poor, property-owning vs. property-less, most educated vs. least educated, etc., then social strata can be regarded as social classes. If conflict does not occur between the extremes, and if the rankings of people involved in conflict do not have high correlation with rankings according to stratification, then a methodological device is needed to link social strata with social classes.

Dahrendorf makes such a link by recognizing and identifying the authority/subordination sources of conflict which he maintains overlay those generated by social stratification, and provide the basis for the generation of a social class consciousness more likely to be explicitly conflict oriented. In Dahrendorf's words;

> I have introduced, as a structural determinant of conflict groups, the category of authority as exercised in imperatively co-ordinated associations. While agreeing with Marx that source and level of income—even socio-economic status—cannot usefully be conceived as determinants of conflict groups, I have added to this list of erroneous approaches Marx's own in terms of property in the means of production. Authority is both a more general and a more significant social relation.[26]

While not wishing to agree with Dahrendorf when he suggests that Marx's focus on property cannot usefully be conceived as a determinant of conflict, it is accepted here that authority (which may not be directly related to property) is a significant social determinant. Weber has shown how authority can arise from a variety of sources.[27] Property always carries with it the potential of authority. There is, then, a sense in which authority is more basic than property. Dahrendorf's conception of social classes refers to "conflict groups arising out of the authority structure of imperatively co-ordinated associations." And by imperatively co-ordinated associations Dahrendorf means associations held together by an authority structure resting ultimately on the force of law.[28] For as long as it works or appears to work for the good of all this authority is legitimized by deference and convention, but, in the last resort, it is legitimized by the force of law.

It is Neale's contention that conflict is likely to be most intense when all the authority/subordinate positions of most people point in the same way, and in this way become super-imposed. He suggests that the intensity of conflict was heightened in the early nineteenth century "by the existence of upwardly mobile men with high need for achievement but with subordinate positions."[29]

The rapid economic change that Britain underwent during industrialization brought with it a break down of social strata, and traditional authority was subjected to greater stress;

> Thus a young journeyman shoemaker with ambitions to set up on his own, who was also a Baptist or a Primitive Methodist, living in a low rental house in a parish administered by a Church of England controlled vestry, in a city ruled by a closed corporation, legislated against by the combination laws and other government decrees, in conflict with his employer over piece-rates, and looked down upon by his neighbours as well as by his employer's customers, was likely to be seething with barely suppressed hostility to all authority.[30]

A young journeyman in such circumstances was more likely to be non-deferential than deferential. Whether or not this potential hostility could be harnessed for political action directed at social change depended on such influences as;

1) The similarity of his experience with that of his immediate associates,

2) His exposure to articulate spokesmen of protest movements, and

3) The degree to which he sensed the possibility of changing conditions and circumstances.

Whether or not his social class consciousness would be predominantly proletarian or privatized again depended on a variety of factors the most important of these being;

1) His work situation,

2) His relationship to the means of production,

3) The ideology already prevailing in his immediate neighbourhood,

4) The availability of groups he could join.

On this subject Neale writes;

> . . . the key factor in shaping his social class consciousness was not social stratification *per se*, but his experience as a subordinate in a variety of conflict situations increased by the degree to which he felt unable to shape the course of his own life.[31]

Neale's conception of class. Neale's conception of class is a more fluid one than the traditional concept of class. As he remarks;

> Social classes comprehended as conflict groups generated by shifting relationships of authority and subordination, rather than exclusively by property relationships, become immediately alive and suggestive of unintended outcomes.[32]

Neale accepts that this fluidity may be objectionable to some because, failing to make a distinction between social strata and social classes, they claim that classes defined in this way are not really classes because they are not anchored in objectively defined strata, and not objectively homogenious. Social classes defined as conflict groups may also be collections of objectively defined social strata, but they do not have to be;

> Nevertheless, there is an objective base for, and a sense in which quasi-groups which produce social classes as conflict groups are objectively homogenious. It is that they contain people ranked according to their positions of authority or subordination.[33]

NEALE'S FIVE CLASS MODEL FOR NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND[34]

Neale distinguishes between the following concepts; social stratification, social class, class consciousness, and political class.

Social Stratification

Social stratification is usually determined by some objective, measureable and largely economic criteria such as source and size of income, occupation, years of education, or size of assets. Some aspects of stratification are more likely to be identified by other less easily quantifiable criteria; i.e., by such criteria as values, social customs and language. Such criteria are often difficult to identify since, in addition to the problem of measurement, they may exist in the minds of the members of a social stratum only as norms which are not always in evidence as behaviour.

Social Classes

Following Dahrendorf, Neale defines social classes as conflict groups arising out of the authority structure of imperatively co-ordinated associations. (An imperatively co-ordinated association is defined as any group of people in which authority is unequally distributed and in which those in dominant positions exercise legitimate authority. The state and industrial enterprises are examples of associations.) A social class identified in this way can be objectively identified, at least in part, by setting out the authority structure of associations.

This in itself, however, is not enough for the identification of social class as a conflict group. At best it will produce a sorting out of people with similar authority or subjection positions into what Ginsberg and Dahrendorf have called _quasi-groups_. Quasi-groups function as recruiting fields for classes. Whether or not a quasi-group becomes a social class will depend upon the technical, political, and social conditions of organization, and the generation of class consciousness within it. These in turn will depend upon the specific historical conditions.

The formation of a social class as a conflict group will always be closely related to the growth of a recognition of collective identity of interest among individuals in a quasi-group _vis-a-vis_ other groups or social classes, and much to do with relationships of authority and subjection as felt and experienced in a quasi-group.

In summary, Neale emphasizes the distinction between social stratification and social class, and conceptualizes social classes as conflict groups based on relationships of authority and subjection.

Political Class

The existence of social class as a political class will be most easily inferred from the existence of continuously organized political and/or industrial action.

Class Consciousness

In pre-industrial England, authority positions derived from ascribed status generally outweighed income, wealth, and occupation, while the latter, by themselves, rarely granted status and authority. Because of the difficulty in weighing these opposing elements in some rational balance, much early nineteenth century literature centred on the problem of social identity. The problem of social identity was further complicated as the traditional status of high-ranking social classes was eroded through the increase of geographic and social mobility associated with rapid economic growth. Nevertheless, for a large part of the nineteenth century, an important determinant of social class, and an important element in relationships of authority and subjection, was derived from ascribed status and authority.

In such circumstances it is unlikely that any social class consciousness other than a deferential one will be found at the lower end of social stratification and social class spectrums. Likewise, where the barriers to higher status for the most economically successful of the aspirants for higher society are surmountable at some level of achievement, the social class consciousness of new members of the highest social strata is likely to be deferential vis-a-vis those with high ascribed status, and they are likely to be more willing than unwilling to conform to the mores of those already strong in an authority derived from it.

It is necessary to look elsewhere for situations likely to produce conflict between those with and without authority, and hence more likely to be productive of a social class consciousness resulting in the formation of a political class. Neale suggests that such a situation is one in which there appears to be an unresolvable incongruity between the positions men have accorded to social stratification and ascribed status.

Intense class conflict is likely to develop under the following circumstances. Where men possessed with high motivation to achieve move from lower to higher social strata while retaining low ascribed status, and are geographically concentrated in regions in which insistence on the observance of traditional relationships remains strong, a quasi-group generating a social class consciousness which is highly privatized or individuated and non-deferential is likely to emerge. Because of the geographical concentration and strength of traditional relationships, the social class consciousness is likely to lead to attempts by individuals in the quasi-group to overcome their isolation and produce a political class hostile to traditional authority. In these circumstances, people come to recognize a personal conflict and begin to identify their own dilemma with those conflict situations in society at large which may be formulated in general or philosophic terms.

The Emergence of the Middling Class

The circumstances outlined above formed the basis of class conflict in the early nineteenth century, and the emergence of a middling class with a social-class consciousness making them receptive to the ideas of the Philosophic Radicals throughout the 1820s and 1830s. Neale describes the emergence of the middling class as follows. With the acceleration of industrial growth and changes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was an accompanying increase in the opportunities for advancement. At the same time, population grew and there were many more applicants for both old and new opportunities. The increase of applicants was the result of the increase in family size and the uncertainties of economic life which repeatedly reduced once economically-successful families to indigence.

Probably the number of respectable places for the increasing number of sons grew less than the number of applicants. Many of the places that were created were still allocated through nepotism, influence, and graft. Even where opportunities for economic advancement existed, traditional restraints associated with status continued to bear heavily. The growth of urban communities created large pockets of these aspiring and marginally disaffected men.

In more concrete terms, the early stages of industrialization in Britain brought about a proliferation of petty producers, retailers, and tradesmen—collectively, the petit bourgeois—and a class of professional men, as well as bringing into existence the big industrial, commercial, and professional capitalist—the big bourgeois. The children of the petit-bourgeois and of the professionals flooded the grammar schools and private schools only to be turned out half-educated, half gentlemen, and unfitted for industrial employment. Accustomed to living standards something above subsistence, they feared a decline to a lower social strata. Many of them lacked the capital and connections as well as the education which might have brought them the rewards that they felt were properly theirs. As this group of "literates" came to maturity they added to the competition for the limited number of "respectable" places.

As a result of these changes and influences the middle class came to include at least two sub-groups or social strata whose economic experience and status relations with other groups created conditions favourable to the development of a social class-consciousness which was especially highly individuated and non-deferential. These were the petit bourgeois and the professionals, and the literates (many of this latter group could be called under-employed intellectuals). Members of the professional and literate social strata, possessed of few liquid assets, and having no property or connections were particularly inclined to assert the rights of man as against the rights of property, status, and traditional authority.

By the 1820s, the individuals in these social strata were also members of a social class in the sense that enough of them were sufficiently class conscious to co-operate with each other in organized political activity, especially at a local level. Sometimes, as in their opposition to aristocratic privilege, they appeared to be submerged in the omnibus "middle class." But there was also a distinctive element in their social class consciousness—a recognition of difference from other sections of the "middle class." Their social class consciousness was not always at one with that of the more cautious, propertied and outstandingly successful members of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, the older gentry, senior military and naval men, and successful professional men on fixed incomes.

Neale's Five Class Model

The choice of five rather than three classes is appropriate in this study because it allows one to distinguish between entrepreneurial and professional "middle class." It also makes it possible to differentiate between the politically-aware and politically-naive working class. The five-class model is well suited to the present study, and a description of Neale's five classes follows.

Upper class. Descriptive terms applicable to the "upper class" include aristocratic, landholding, authoritarian, and exclusive.

Middle class. The "middle class" were industrial and commercial property-owners, senior military and professional men, aspiring to acceptance by the "upper class." They were deferential towards the "upper class" because of this, and because of their concern for property and achieved position. They were also individuated (or privatized).

Middling class. The "middling class" were made up of petit bourgeois, aspiring professional men, other literates, and artisans. Like the "middle class" they were privatized, but collectively less deferential and more concerned to remove the privileges and authority of the "upper class" in which, without radical changes, they could not hope to share.

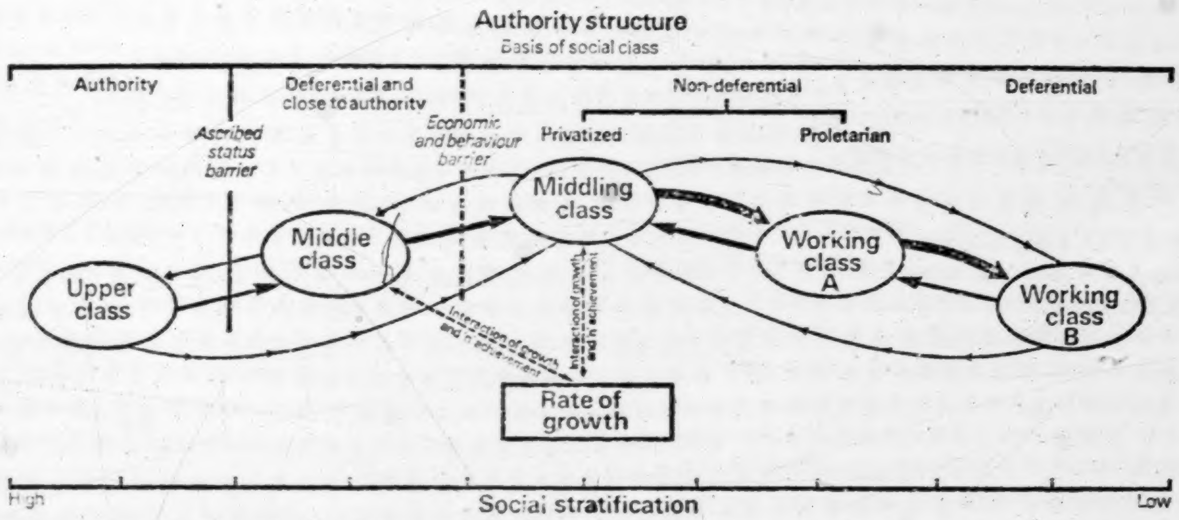
Working class 'A'. In "working class 'A'" were the industrial proletariat in factory areas, workers in domestic industries. They tended to be collectivist and non-deferential but sought government intervention to protect them rather than to liberate them.

Working class 'B'. "Working class'B'" was made up of agricultural labourers, domestic servants, urban poor, and most working-class women whether from "working class 'A' or 'B' households. They were characteristically deferential and dependent.

TABLE THREE

NEALE'S FIVE-CLASS MODEL[35]

Diagram of the five-class model


Authority structure
Basis of social class
Authority
Deferential and close to authority
Non-deferential
Deferential
Privatized
Proletarian
Ascribed status barrier
Economic and behaviour barrier
Middling class
Middle class
Upper class
Working class A
Working class B
Interaction of growth and n achievement
Interaction of growth and n achievement
Rate of growth
High
Social stratification
Low

Arrows indicate direction of flow.
Thickness of line indicates guessed probability of moving from one class to another *circa* 1800

To overcome the tendency to view this as a static model, Neale suggests that it is necessary to stop conceptualizing social strata or social classes as separate boxes;

> Instead, think of the five-classes, each embracing a number of social strata, as separate pools of water linked together by streams of water and located on a convex but asymmetrical hill with the middling class on the summit exposed to all the elements. The upper- and middle-class pools lie on the sheltered sunny side of the hill and both working-class pools lie on the higher and more exposed northern slope. The stream linking the summit or middling pool to the middle- and upper-class pools is controlled by traditional sluices between each pool. The two working class pools are linked to each other and the middling class pool by more sluggish streams but there are no obstacles to the downward flow of water although eddies will result in water moving backwards and forwards between any two pools.[36]

THE HIERARCHICAL IDEAL: THE IDEOLOGY OF THE "UPPER CLASS"

In the old society of Gregory King's day differential status was part of the given, unquestioned environment into which men were born. It was a hierarchical (but not feudal) society inherited from the medieval world. It was a hierarchy based neither on military nor on labour services, but rather on traditional property connections, and tempered by a high degree of social mobility.

The ideal citizen of the old society was the landowner, for the landowner was seen as the only person competent and sufficiently disinterested to be entrusted with the welfare of society. One's place in the society was determined by the amount and kind of property owned. Land both granted the gift of status and brought with it the privilege of title. The social power of property underlay all other forms of power. Writing of Parliament in 1794 Young explains;

> The principle of our constitution is the representation of property, imperfectly in theory, but efficiently in practice . . . the great mass of property, both landed, monied and commercial finds itself represented; and that the evils of such representation are trivial, will appear from the ease, happiness, and security of all the lower classes, hence possibly virtual representation takes place even where the real seems most remote.[37]

The House of Lords consisted almost entirely of great landowners and, in the House of Commons, about three quarters of the members between 1734 and 1832 were landowners or their near relations. The same sort of situation existed at the local level. The Quarter Sessions, borough corporations, and parish officers were nothing more than the forms through which a hierarchy of property-holders governed themselves and their dependants.

After property, patronage was an important factor in determining status. At all levels personal selection from one's own kinsmen and their friends was the instrument by which property influenced recruitment to those positions in society which were not determined by property alone.

Status allocated solely according to property and patronage would have resulted in a static society and this was not the case in latter eighteenth century Britain. Industrializing Britain was a dynamic society, an open aristocracy in which men could rise or fall in the social order according to their status as defined by property. The economic success of the merchant or industrialist enabled such men to acquire property and, in addition, gain access to the aristocracy via marriage. In this way the dynamic social equilibrium of the old society was retained, while the two-way flow of money and men prompted economic growth without fundamental change of the social structure.

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL IDEAL: THE IDEOLOGY OF THE "MIDDLE CLASS"

The ideology of the middle class forwarded the capitalist (the entrepreneur) as the ideal citizen, and capital as the basis of the ideal society.[38] While it was accepted that labour was the source of all wealth, it was the entrepreneur who was seen to provide the initiative in the economic cycle; it was capital which set labour into action. The entrepreneur, so the story ran, did all this for the meagre return of a profit fixed by competition; a profit unable to rise more than momentarily above the common rate, and subject to a long-term natural tendency to fall as, with the increasing cost and difficulty of producing food, wages and rent whittled it away.[39]

From this perspective, the worker, although indispensable and deserving the highest wages that could be afforded, was no more than a pawn in the game. The worker had no thought for the future, and had only to do what the entrepreneur—the mastermind of the new economic order—told him for a wage fixed by competition at the level of customary subsistence.[40] But the most disparaging remarks were reserved for the landlord who was regarded as a mere parasite. The landlord was seen as a member of the "unproductive class," whose rent was unearned income equivalent to the whole surplus produce after the subsistence wages and common rate of profit had been paid.[41]

Capital—the total fund for the employment of labour in the hands of the entrepreneurs—was the real wealth and strength of the country. This capital accumulated, apparently, because of the capitalist's self-denying abstention from consumption, and because savings were automatically invested in further production, rising wages, and, via the demand for food, the landlord's rent. The other two classes were portrayed as selfish, inefficient or lacking in forethought. This applied to the landed rulers because they imposed heavy taxes on profits, or transferred a portion to themselves by means of such devices as the corn laws. And it applied to the working class who, it was feared, might underbreed, and so raise wages at the expense of profits; or overbreed beyond the capacity of capital to employ them. Such inappropriate behaviour could only result in mass poverty.[42]

In the entrepreneurial-ideal society capital was undistorted by aristocratic corruption and jobbery, the former determinants of property. Indeed, capital in industrializing society was the exact equivalent of property in the old society, but the emphasis was now on active acquisition rather than passive endowment. This change of emphasis introduced the second principle of the entrepreneurial-ideal society—competition. Competition did for capital what patronage had done for property in the old society; that is, it "buttressed its selection to positions of power, wealth and prestige, and filled those positions which the first principle alone could not fill."[43] Unlike patronage, where selection by merit was measured by the judgement and importance of the patron, competition appealed to a far more impartial judge—"fortune," "market forces" or material success.

Not only was the entrepreneurial-ideal society grounded on less-suspect bases than the old society but competition, the second principle of the ideology, in contrast to the "monopoly," "privilege," and "restriction" of the old economic system, was universally beneficial;

> Adam Smith's "invisible hand" of competition was doubly benevolent. It led to the self-interest of the individual to promote the good of the whole community, and, conversely it guarenteed success to the most meritorious: those who best served the interest of the whole best promoted their own interest. The elegant moral symmetry of "the competitive system" . . . appealed most powerfully to both the moral self-righteousness and the material self-interest of the middle class.[44]

Competition kept up supply and kept down prices in the market. It maintained profits at a remunerative level, neither so high as to exploit the consumer nor so low as to discourage saving the future production. It also fixed wages at exactly the level which was best for the worker and society, low enough to provide full employment for all workers and to make it necessary for them all to work full-time in order to earn their customary standard of living, high enough to guarantee them subsistence and to produce the next generation of workers.[45]

Competition was also socially beneficial. "The theory of self-dependence," as J. S. Mill called it, in contrast to "the theory of dependence and protection" of "the patriarchial or paternal system," evoked not only manly self respect and responsibility but also the ambition to rise in social status which was the chief source of the energy and drive behind the progress of society.[46]

According to the entrepreneurial ideal, anyone with the energy and ability, however humble their birth, whatever their economic and social circumstances, through individual competition could climb the ladder of entrepreneurial society. In this belief lay "one of the most powerful instruments of propaganda ever developed by any class to justify itself and seduce others to its own ideal: the myth of the self-made man;"[47]

> The myth was the apotheosis of the entrepreneurial ideal. In it . . . the notions of active capital and beneficient competition were fused with that of the entrepreneur as the autogenous benefactor of society into the decisive weapon of the class struggle.[48]

The origins of the entrepreneurial ideal had its basis in the old society. Capital was old society property in its active phase, and implicit in Locke's labour theory of property. Competition was evident in the dynamism of the old society and its justification of equality. The condemnation of idleness and the commendation of self-help and independence were well-known themes amongst the Puritans and mercantilists of the old society's middle ranks. But these connections with old society ideology only emphasized the strength of the new ideology:

> Active capital, open competition and the productive entrepreneur were a standing indictment of passive property, closed patronage and the leisured gentleman. By the light of capital, property meant idleness.[49]

Adam Smith had shown the classical economists the distinction between the productive and unproductive members of society, but it was not until Ricardo that the landlords were shown to be not merely unproductive but parasitic, compared with the least active capitalist. In the light of competition, patronage meant corruption; it was, for James Mill, the device by which the aristocracy redistributed to itself what it extracted from the people.

The entrepreneurial ideal confronted the aristocratic at every point;

> In politics it demanded the abolition of patronage and corruption by means of "such reform of the House of Commons as may render its votes the express image of the opinion of the middle orders of Britain." In commerce it demanded the abolition of protection and monopoly as symbolised by the Corn Laws, and the completion of the system of free trade. In industrial relations it demanded "free trade in labour," the abolition of all State interference between employer and (adult) worker, included (be it noted) the Combination Acts, and the substitution of the contractual relations of employer and employed for the paternal relations of master and servant.[50]

Competition inevitably extended itself to free-trade in land, by abolishing the devices by which the land owners kept the great estates together in a few hands; and to free-trade in religion, demanding that each sect should compete in equality with others, and that the privileged monopoly of the Church of England should be abolished.[51]

The ideology of the middle class was strong and its representatives became increasingly confident in their attitude. Edward Baines, editor of the Leeds Mercury, wrote;

> Never in any country beneath the sun, was an order of men more estimable and valuable, more praised and praiseworthy, than the middle class of society in England.[52]

By 1826 James Mill was recognizing the national importance of the middle class;

> The value of the middle classes of this country, their growing numbers and importance, are acknowledged by all.

> These classes have long been spoken of, and not grudgingly, by their superiors themselves, as the glory of England; as that which alone has given us our eminence among nations; as that portion of our people to whom every thing that is good among us may be certainly traced.[53]

For Brougham, addressing the House of Lords in 1831, they were the nation;

> By the people, . . . I mean the middle classes, the wealth and intelligence of the country, the glory of the British name.[54]

The middle class ideology was well established. Its success can be judged by its continued use to support many aspects of the twentieth century social order.

THE EGALITARIAN IDEAL: THE IDEOLOGY OF THE "WORKING CLASS"

The composition of the working class was more fragmented than that of the middle class. This led to ambiguity in its ideal, and diversity, and even conflict, in its action in the pursuit of this ideal. The many divisions within working-class society—urban and rural, skilled and unskilled, "labour aristocracy" and "common workers"—meant that the working-class ideal had to be such that it could bridge the variety of concerns and interests expressed by these groups.

For the working class the ideal citizen was the productive, independent worker, and its ideal society was an egalitarian one based on labour and co-operation. But these ideas meant different things to different workers, and it is possible to distinguish at least three interpretations of each aspect of the working-class ideology; past-oriented, present-oriented, and future-oriented.

Past-oriented interpretations, like those of Cobbett and the domestic workers who formed a large part of his following, saw the productive, independent worker as the "little master" of the old domestic system. For these people the egalitarian society was a return to an idealized past, a past which had never existed. The rights of labour amounted to a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and co-operation was interpreted in terms of friendly societies.

Present-oriented interpretations regarded the productive, independent worker as the manual wage-earner on whom the capitalist system rested, and freedom from dependence on the arbitrary will of the capitalist. Those of this persuasion accepted the inevitability of the existing capitalist economic order, regarded the ideal society as a political democracy, and saw the rights of labour in terms of political safeguards and welfare provisions.

Future-oriented interpretations extended the notion of the productive, independent worker to include the "aristocrats of labour." Thomas Hodgskin, for example, included the master manufacturer as an important contributor to labour and skill.[55] The ideal society, from this perspective was often couched in terms of the pursuit of a millenial future in which capitalists and landowners had disappeared and only productive, independent workers remained. For these "futurists" the egalitarian society was perceived as a socialist utopia which replaced the class society or developed within it as co-operative communities. For socialists like the Spencians the rights of labour necessitated the complete abolition of landed property and industrial capital.

The egalitarian ideology, in spite of its ambiguity, helped to unite the working class by identifying the opposition. In fact, the ideal of the productive, independent worker encouraged a more forceful criticism of the unproductive landowner than the entrepreneurial ideal, which somehow had to keep open the options for retirement and passive investment. As Perkin comments;

> The ideal of labour as the sole justification of renumeration, recruitment and promotion in society was a standing criticism of all forms of unearned income and of recruitment by anything but merit defined as hard work, and above all of the unequal advantages and bargaining power of capital.[56]

The ideal of co-operation supported the interests of labour in the same way that the ideal of competition supported the interests of capital; but, at the same time, it was also a moral condemnation of the principle of competition.

Working-class ideology, like that of the middle class, had its origins in the old society. Justification by labour —implicit in Locke's labour theory of property, and explicit in Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations, supported the assertion of critics of property and capital that the worker was entitled to the whole produce of his labour. However, it was only when working-class consciousness gelled and led to concrete political action after the Wars that the right to the whole produce of labour became a dynamic issue of class conflict.

The anti-capitalists were not all socialists.[57] Thomas Hodgskin, for example, advocated that the existing structure of society be maintained but with the inclusion of safeguards for the labourer. Like the socialists, though, he used the idea of labour to denounce capital and competition;

> If . . . , as I say, circulating capital is only co-existing labour, and fixed capital only skilled labour, it must be plain that all those numerous advantages, those benefits to civilisation, those vast improvements in the condition of the human race, which have been in general attributed to capital, are caused in fact by labour, and by knowledge and skill informing and directing labour.[58]

The working-class ideology gained support from many different quarters;

> The ideal captured the working-class press, joining forces with the Painites—the Carliles, Hetheringtons and Cleaves—who had kept alive the old Jacobin tradition of political democracy, and transformed the merely political Rights of Man into the social revolutionary Rights of Labour. Joshua Hobson announced in the first number of his unstamped Voice of the West Riding in 1833:
>
> > It is intended to publish a Weekly Penny Paper, to be called the "Voice of the West Riding"; advocating the Rights of Man against the "exclusives," and the Rights of Labour against the "Competitives" and the "Political Economists," and especially to vindicate the Working Classes from the calumnies and misrepresentations of our parasitical scribes who figure in the Provincial Newspapers.
>
> Wherever it succeeded, it transformed the working-class movement from an ameliorative one which accepted the basic class structure of the new society into a revolutionary one which rejected it altogether.[59]

The Meritocratic Ideal—the Ideology of the "Middling Class"

Many spokesmen of the three ideologies that have been discussed did not have class affiliations to the class they represented. Instead, they belonged to an increasing sector of the population—comprised of lawyers, doctors, public officials, journalists, professors, and lecturers—who formed the non-capitalist or professional middling class. However, despite their efforts to represent the interests of other classes, they had their own social ideal which had a profound effect upon the rest of society.[60] This group constituted a distinct class in that:

1) They co-operated with each other especially at a local level, in organized political activity.
2) Their social class consciousness changed from being deferential to non-deferential as members recognized collectively that, though suited by education and experience for certain positions, they had little opportunity of securing them. Unemployed intellectuals turned their attention to other matters—namely, politics.
3) They came to recognize their own dilemma as part of the conflict situations in society at large. In this they became receptive to the ideology of the Radicals.

Urban communities held large pockets of aspiring marginally disaffected men who, as underemployed intellectuals, frequently met together.

The Industrial Revolution, which created the entrepreneur and the wage-earner, provided the conditions for the growth and expansion of the professional sector of society. In industrializing society, as well as the traditional professions (clergy, law and medicine), new professions developed (e.g., civil engineers and architects). Along with these developments, and because of the increasing importance of "professionals" in urban society, there was a general rise in the status of the professional intellectual in society.

In this professional group were the philosophers of society (both by inclination and training) who supplied the major part of the social analysis and terminology used by the three major classes. While these professionals usually left themselves out of their own social analyses, they had a separate, though sometimes sub-conscious, social ideal which underlay their versions of the other class ideals. Their ideal society was a functional one based on expertise and selection by merit. Consequently, they believed that the criteria and justification for status and power in society should be trained and qualified expertise rather than property, capital, or labour. It followed that the supporting principle of recruitment should be selection by merit rather than patronage, market competition (as distinct from competitive examination), or co-operative endeavour.

The declared concern of the professionals—happiness, progress, and efficiency—was not entirely altruistic. The professional had an interest in educating society to demand, and pay for, disinterested intelligent service and to differentiate experts from charlatans and quacks;

> They moralized society at both the theoretical and practical levels. At the theoretical level, professional men moralized the ideals of the other classes by transforming them from mere apologetics for self-interest into moral theories of society. Thus the three main streams of social thought in nineteenth-century England may be regarded as the rival attempts by three streams of professional thinkers to sublimate the economic interests of the other three classes into morally and intellectually coherent social philosophies, by infusing into them large doses of the professional ideal, and coaxing, goading or shaming their members to live up to them. In each case they were at first successful, but increasingly the professional ideal became uppermost in the minds of the professional thinkers, and increasingly alienated their adopted class.[61]

The following three perspectives can be distinguished in the social thought of the early nineteenth century. First, the professional ideologues of the aristocratic ideal evident in the organicist or Idealist perspectives of Coleridge and Southey, and the Blackwood's revivalists of the aristocratic ideal. Second, the professional ideologues of the entrepreneurial ideal evident in the Utilitarian theory of the Benthamites and the Ricardians. And, third, the professional ideologues of the working class including individuals as diverse as Charles Hall, Thomas Hodgskin, Robert Owen, and William Thompson.

TABLE FOUR

CLASS IDEOLOGIES OF INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN

	UPPER CLASS (Aristocratic)	MIDDLE CLASS (Entrepreneurial)	MIDDLING CLASS (Meritocratic)	WORKING CLASS 'A' (Egalitarian)
IDEAL SOCIETY	Open Aristocracy	Open market economy	Meritocracy	Egalitarian Society 1. Political democracy 2. Socialist utopia 3. Idealized traditional society
IDEAL CITIZEN	Landowner	Entrepreneur	Professional	Productive independent worker
BASIS OF THE IDEAL SOCIETY	Property and Patronage	Capital	Expertise	Labour and Co-operation
BASIS OF SELECTION	Heredity and Patronage	Competition	Merit demonstrated through examination	Effort and Skill

SUMMARY

The Industrial Revolution, as well as a technological revolution, was a social revolution with social causes and social effects. The period saw a rise in scale of human activity.

Industrialization and urbanization, together, destroyed traditional norms and values, which were replaced by those of class. Because the concept of class is central to this study it has been discussed in detail in this chapter. The work of Marx, Dahrendorf, and Neale on class has been considered, and Neale's Five Class Model selected as the most suitable for the period, and topic of discussion. Four of Neale's classes, together with their attendant ideologies, have been described; "upper class" (hierarchical ideology), "middle class" (entrepreneurial ideology), "middling class" (meritocratic ideology), and "working class 'A'" (egalitarian ideology).

Human consciousness reached a new dimension. Before the Industrial Revolution there had been a resignation to one's "station in life," as determined by birth, and to the existing conditions of society; but the dramatic changes occurring in all sectors of society led to an expectation of progress as a law of life, and continual improvement as the normal state of any healthy society.

NOTES

[1] H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880*, 1972, pp. ix, 4.

[2] G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 1948, vol. I, p. 3.

[3] M. Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 1973, p. 256.

[4] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 17.

[5] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1803-4(175), Return of the Number of Paupers, 1802-3 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 22.

[6] D. Robinson, "The Church of England and the Dissenters," *Blackwoods*, 1824, XVI, p. 397 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 22.

[7] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 23.

[8] J. Millar, *An Historical View of the English Government*, 1803, IV, p. 115 in H. Perkin, ibid., p. 27.

[9] R. S. Neale, *Class Ideology and the Nineteenth Century*, 1972.

[10] I have found it convenient to draw on the discussion of Marx's model of class in R. Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, 1959, though I do not support his critique of Marx's work.

[11] K. Marx, "Die moralisierende Kritik und die kritische Moral," in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 9.

[12] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 10.

[13] K. Marx, "Die moralisierende Kritik und die kritische Moral," in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 11.

[14] K. Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie*, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 12.

[15] K. Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 12.

[16] K. Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie*, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[17] K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 13.

[18] K. Marx, ibid.

[19] K. Marx, Capital, Vol. III in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 13.

[20] K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 14.

[21] K. Marx, Manifesto of the Communist Party, and The German Ideology, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 14.

[22] K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 16.

[23] K. Marx, Letter to Bolte, November 1871, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 16.

[24] K. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, in R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 17.

[25] R. S. Neale, op. cit., p. 7.

[26] R. Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 172.

[27] See M. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, 1968, pp. 324-423.

[28] This general definition enables the concept of an imperatively co-ordinated association to be used for a wide range of social collectives including; nations, closed corporations, parishes, established churches, trade unions, military organizations, universities, schools, and so on. Common to all of these structures in an authority structure in which some exercise authority and give orders, and the rest are subordinate.

[29] R. S. Neale, op. cit.,, p. 9.

[30] R. S. Neale, ibid., p. 9.

[31] Ibid., p. 10.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[34] See R. S. Neale, op. cit., pp. 15-40.

[35] Ibid., p. 31.

[36] Ibid., pp. 30-32.

[37] A. Young, The Example of France ... a Warning to Britain, 1794, in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 39.

[38] Capitalist in the terminology of the day was the active owner-manager of the Industrial Revolution and not the passive controlling financier of later corporate capitalism. Adam Smith and David Ricardo did not distinguish between rentier and entrepreneur. Capital was active property and competition was individual competition: "the competition of flesh-and-blood men for wealth, power and social status," and not "the bloodless competition between material products and between abstract corporations of the modern 'free enterprise' economy" (Perkin, 1969, pp. 221-222).

[39] David Ricardo, Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, in Works and Correspondence (ed. Sraffa), I, 110-27; cf. J. S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy (1904 ed.), p. 416; in Perkin 1969, p. 222.

[40] David Ricardo, op. cit., I, p. 162; and cf., I, p. 94, pp. 100-1; Perkin, 1969, p. 222.

[41] Ibid., I, p. 270, p. 335; Perkin, 1969, p. 222.

[42] Ibid., I, pp. 108-9, Perkin, 1969, p. 223.

[43] Capital played a larger part in the entrepreneurial ideal patronage had done in the old society, "for whereas passive property in land or the funds, required active exertion to get rid of, active capital by its nature required constant attention to keep it being. While patronage, therefore, was never more than an adjustment to property, competition was inherent in the very idea of capital and inseparable from it" (Perkin, 1969, p. 223).

[44] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 224.

[45] Ibid., p. 224.

[46] J. S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy, pp. 445-6; Perkin, 1969, p. 224.

[47] "It was a real myth in that it had a sufficient basis in fact—as Samuel Smiles' Lives of Engineers from James Brindley to George Stephenson bears witness—to make it eminently plausible, while remaining utterly fictitious as a sociological explanation of the entrepreneurs as a class. The number of industrialists even in the Industrial Revolution who began without capital or connections of any kind was a minute fraction of the whole, yet 'what some men are all without difficulty might be' (Samuel Smiles,

Self Help) was an argument which overwhelmed statistics and made the self-made man to the nineteenth century what the football pool winner is to the twentieth" (Perkin, 1969, p. 225).

[48] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 225.

[49] Ibid., pp. 226-7.

[50] Ibid., p. 229.

[51] J. E. Taylor at Manchester Vestry Meeting, *Manchester Observer*, Jan. 20, 1820 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 230.

[52] D. Read, *Press and People 1790-1850*, 1961 in H. op. cit., p. 230.

[53] J. Mill, *West. Rev.*, 1826 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 119.

[54] Lord Brougham and Vaux, *Speeches on Social and Political Subjects*, 1857 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 230.

[55] "The labour and skill of the contriver, or the man who arranges and adopts a whole, are as necessary as the labour and skill of him who executes only a part, and they must be paid accordingly." T. Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital*, 1825; Perkin, 1969, p. 231.

[56] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 232.

[57] "On the contrary, they were fairly evenly divided between those who, like the anonymous author of *A Letter to Lord John Russel* (1821), the Tory democrat 'Piercy Ravenstone' and the Radical ex-naval officer, Thomas Hodgskin, would retain the present structure of society, with political safeguards for the labourer, and avoided socialist remedies, and those who, like clerk turned professional lecturer John Gray and the Irish Landowner William Thompson, advocated forms of socialism. Both groups however, equally used the ideal of labour to denounce capital and competition." Perkin, 1969, p. 234.

[58] T. Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital*, 1825 in H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 234.

[59] H. Perkin, op. cit., p. 236.

[60] Ibid., p. 253.

[61] Ibid., pp. 260-1.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION: AN ELEMENT IN THE IDEOLOGY OF INDUSTRIALIZING BRITAIN

> The school's function is not merely to sanction the distinction—in both senses of the word—of the educated classes. The culture that it imparts separates those receiving it from the rest of society by a whole series of systematic differences.
>
> It may be assumed that every individual owes to the type of schooling he has received a set of basic, deeply interiorized master-patterns on the basis of which he subsequently acquires other patterns, so that the system of patterns by which his thought is organised owes its specific character not only to the nature of the patterns constituting it but also to the frequency with which these are used and to the level of consciousness at which they operate, these properties being probably connected with the circumstances in which the most fundamental intellectual patterns were acquired.
>
> Pierre Bourdieu, "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought" in M. F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control, 1971, pp. 200, 192-3.

PART ONE

EDUCATION FOR CONTROL

INTRODUCTION

The process of education cannot be reduced to any single function, but it has been suggested that a fundamental characteristic of education is that it represents a point at which the vital needs of the individual and the interests of the State intersect. In other words, it represents a point at which there is a conjunction or disjunction between the interests of the individual and those of the "power elite."[1] Not only does education enable the individual to survive and develop in his environment, but it helps to shape the social structure. It aids the formation and regeneration of the ruling class, and incalcates a knowledge of the social order that members must internalize, and act in accordance with, if the existing social structure is to remain unchallenged.

During the period under consideration England was in the process of changing from a traditional to an industrial society. In the previous two chapters I have briefly traced this transition in terms of techno-economic change and social re-organization. Drawing on Neale's Five Class Model, I have suggested that industrialization brought with it four major classes and their attendant ideologies. In this chapter I shall consider how these ideologies were realized in the theory and practice of education of the upper and middle

("middle" and "middling") classes.

Of education in the latter part of the eighteenth century Adamson writes;

> In 1789 it could not be said that England possessed an educational system; yet there was provision for all stages of education, from the university to the school which taught the rudiments.[2]

If there was any common factor between the various forms of schooling available at the time it was the Church. Educational organization was a concern of the Church, and educational objectives were ostensibly religious. The Church excercised a powerful domination over all forms of schooling, it was the major owner of school buildings, and it provided the only source of teacher training.

The State had assumed supreme control over the Anglican church in the sixteenth century and, since that time, the "special relationship between the State and the Established Church had remained close."[3] Whoever challenged the national religion was also a threat to the organization of the State (and *vice versa*), and heterodoxy in religion could be allied to disloyalty or treason in politics. Schooling under the control of the Church, then, apart from its concern with religious instruction, was involved in the socialization of loyal supporters of the Church and State. Both the content of instruction and the licensing of teachers ensured that schooling was under "the control and auspicies" of "the established Church of the Realm."

The Church held a privileged position in the community for the Anglican parish priest remained legally the pastor of all those living within his parish. Anglicans and Non-conformists alike had to pay tithes and to contribute towards any church-rate levied for the repair and upkeep of the parish church, and the Anglican clergy were the only officials who could preside over the ceremonies of birth and death.

EDUCATION FOR THE "UPPER CLASS": THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The public schools groomed the elite of the old hierarchical society. Winchester, founded in 1382, and Eton, founded in 1440, were both collegiate schools associated with New College, Oxford and Kings' College, Cambridge respectively. Their association with University colleges from their inception made Winchester and Eton quite distinct as public schools. Most of the other "public schools" existing at the end of the eighteenth century were town grammar schools which had outgrown their local functions.

Rugby, for example, was founded by Lawrence Sherriff, a London grocer who left some funds for the foundation of a school that local children could attend free of charge. In time, the endowment increased in value, the school grew wealthy and new buildings were erected. With the appointment of Thomas Arnold the small, free, local grammar school became a famous boarding school which drew its pupils from all over the country. It is ironical that schools like Rugby, which were intended originally for the poor and indigent children of a specific locality, became elite schools for the sons of the wealthy.

From the fourteenth century to the present day the "public schools" provided a symbol of, and entree into, the higher echelons of society. As one writer has explained;

> By virtue of the training itself, of the cohesive bond of unique shared experience, and of a monopoly hold on the cultural medium of Latin, this minority was able to command all the important positions in society, and to assert, and to impose on the rest of the community, a sense of its own natural superiority. The nineteenth-century English Public School was a highly successful device for the preservation in an industrialised society of aristocratic values, institutions and distribution of wealth and power. It incorporated into the elite the sons of the new middle class, and gave them a sense of common identity with the old ruling class over and against the rest of the population.[4]

EDUCATION FOR THE "MIDDLE CLASS": THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The grammar schools, which had been in existence throughout England since the reign of Elizabeth I, educated their pupils in a tradition similar to that of the public schools. But, from being enlightened representatives of Renaissance thought and idealism in the sixteenth century, the grammar schools had deteriorated into a dull formalism quite unsuited to the demands of an industrializing society. New disciplines such as science and mathematics were virtually ignored, and the medieval classical curriculum persisted.[5] Lily's Latin grammar text, published in 1515, was still being used in some grammar schools in the nineteenth century. As one historian has remarked, "If the seventeenth century witnessed the decline of the grammar schools, the eighteenth century displayed secondary education at its worst."[6]

Even if the grammar schools had wished to change their curriculum, they were bound to the classical curriculum by their foundation statutes. When Leeds Grammar School wished to add arithmetic, writing, and modern languages to the classical curriculum in 1805, Lord Chancellor Eldon ruled that the governing body was incompetent to do this. Eldon indicated that the school had been founded as a grammar school, and held that, as a grammar school, it must teach "grammar" (the classical languages) and nothing else. Until 1840, when this judgement was overset, any subjects other than "grammar" had to be taken outside the existing curriculum. Sydney Smith expressed the situation of the "educated" minority quite clearly when he wrote;

> A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years old; and he remains in a course of education til twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time, his sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek: he has scarcely a notion that there is any other kind of excellence.[7]

There was, of course, more than tradition supporting the importance of Latin on the curriculum. Oxford and Cambridge, and the professional training in law organized by the Inns of Court, demanded a classical grounding. In addition, Latin was still used in official and professional circles, and even at the local government level.

The Church maintained a firm hold over education.

Teachers at grammar schools and public schools were required to obtain a license to teach, which was granted by the Bishop of the diocese. Though the origins of this requirement date back to 1604, it was upheld as late as 1795 (Rex v. the Archbishop of York) when it was held that "masters of grammar schools must be licensed by the ordinary who may examine the party applying for a licence as to his learning, morality and religion."[8] Though the licence to teach was not always insisted on, the requirement was not formally overruled until the passing of the Endowed Schools Act in 1869.

EDUCATION FOR THE "POWER ELITE": THE UNIVERSITIES

Oxford and Cambridge, the only universities in England until the foundation of London and Durham in the nineteenth century, like the grammar schools, had seen little change since the Renaissance. Vicesimus Knox, headmaster of Tonbridge School and one-time fellow at St. John's College, Oxford was a staunch supporter of the classical curriculum yet his remarks on the contemporary state of the universities were scathing:

> Many of those houses which the piety and charity of the founders consecrated to religion, virtue, learning, everything useful and lovely, are become the seats of ignorance, infidelity, corruption, and debauchery.[9]

Some attempts were being made to reform the curriculum and the tests for degrees, and so regain the credibility of the universities. In 1780 Cambridge instituted a written examination in the Senate House and, in 1800, Oxford followed suit. At Cambridge mathematics formed a major part of the examination while, at Oxford, the Classics still prevailed. Later, the honours schools were introduced and soon became highly regarded, a "first" supposedly marking a man for high distinction in Church or State.

In much the same way as the grammar schools, the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge had been founded largely for the benefit of poor students who received assistance from endowments. But, by the eighteenth century, the "poor scholars" were greatly outnumbered by fee-paying scholars ("fellow commoners" or "gentlemen commoners"). Even when a "poor scholar" gained entrance to one of the universities he suffered discrimination;

> Undergraduates of noble birth had the privilege of wearing an embroidered gown of purple silk, and a college cap with a golden tassel. They were further distinguished from the common herd by being entirely excused the examinations which led to the degree.[10]

The universities were no exception to the general pattern of control that the Church had over education. In order to gain admission to university one had to be a member of the Church of England. Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics were excluded by law.

All three traditional educational institutions—"public" schools, endowed grammar schools, and universities—were closely linked to the Church and State, and were important buttresses of the status quo. As such, they were clearly representative of the ideology of the aristocracy. There were movements afoot to modify the classical curriculum and make it relevant to the demands of an industrializing society, and appropriate to the entrepreneurial ideal of the "middle class." But these movements were no serious threat to the existing educational institutions during the eighteenth century.

POPULAR EDUCATION

Education for the remainder of society was not a high priority. There was a prevalent idea among the aristocracy and their allies that education for the "lower orders" was unnecessary, and even potentially dangerous to society. According to Francis Place, Lord Eldon considered the "march of intellect . . . a tune to which one day or the other a hundred thousand tall fellows with clubs and pikes will march against Whitehall."[11] Even among those who supported education for the "lower orders" there was an emphasis on indoctrinating them with the "proper" religious and moral principles as a means of maintaining the existing social order. For example, Patrick Colquhoun, in describing his system of education for working-class children noted that, "the great and primary object of this institution is, that the pupils, both male and female, should be strongly impressed with a just sense of religion and morality."[12] To this end he recommends methods which would secure a greater degree of moral rectitude in order to create habits of temperance, industry, subordination and loyalty; the qualities deemed suitable for the working class. Such a position was closely connected to the prevailing views concerning the poor at the end of the eighteenth century. Two main viewpoints were evident; the economic viewpoint and the religious viewpoint.

Adam Smith had forwarded the basis of the economic position when he explained that trade was a system of mutual service and exchange that prospered under "the obvious and simple system of natural liberty."[13] This principle had been interpretted in such a way that it led to a neglect of legal regulation of wages and conditions, and to the absence of any protection of the poor.[14] Wages were allowed to sink to their lowest levels and laws which had once regulated wages were repealed.[15]

Another aspect of the economic view, one which is still prevalent today, was that the individual interest properly understood was also the public interest. Fundamental to such a statement is the qualifying phrase "properly understood," yet this was frequently overlooked. Instead of some sort of reciprocal interest, the interest became unidirectional. In the old society if the employer wanted his work done well, he had to ensure that his employees were well cared for—their interests were also his interests. Even if the one-sidedness of this position is overlooked, it soon becomes apparent that the concern with the worker's welfare ceases to be an economic concern when there is a plentiful labour force as, indeed, there was during the Industrial Revolution. If workers can always be replaced there is no economic necessity to care about their welfare.

This is not necessarily to suggest that this became a prominent attitude, though it is evident that such attitudes existed,[16] but rather to comment on the result of such an economic principle if it is taken to its logical conclusion.

A third position argued that poverty was a necessary social circumstance. Unless there was poverty, the argument ran, the poor would multiply too fast. There was a limited supply of food and wages. The poor would multiply until they were living at a subsistence level. At this level any increase in numbers would result in the "surplus" dieing of starvation. If the poor earned more and greater numbers of their children survived then, once again, they would be forced back to a subsistence level and eventual starvation. Poverty was a necessary social condition—so the argument claimed.

The religious argument was related to the economic perspective for the Church, apart from its supportive role in relation to the State and its declared religious function, assumed the role of a huge property-owning corporation, and it was consequently in the best interests of the Church to maintain the existing social order. To the extent that the Church taught that God called each man to his appointed station in life, it encouraged a meek acceptance of the existing state of society. It encouraged humility, reserve, and deference to one's superiors.

A statement of Kay-Shuttleworth's encapsulates this kind of thinking and gives an insight into the struggles that are to come;

> There are men who believe that the labouring classes are condemned for ever, by an inexorable fate, to the unmitigated curse of toil, scarcely rewarded by the bare necessities of existence, and often visited by the horrors of hunger and disease—that the heritage of ignorance, labour and misery is entailed upon them as an eternal doom. Such an opinion might appear to receive gloomy confirmation were we content with the evidence of fact.[17]

As the Industrial Revolution proceeded and the associated problems became more acute, conservative voices joined the "progressives" who supported the extension of education to the working class. It became apparent that education could be a valuable tool in the task of "moral improvement." The purpose and benefits of such an education included keeping working people away from bad influences, like radical literature, improving their conduct, and making them self-reliant and obedient.[18] If education was to "improve the moral fibre" of the workers without disturbing existing class relations, then, harmless, interesting information should be passed on which provoked no awkward questions. Such caution is well illustrated by the preface to The Every Day Book, which describes the contents of the book as a collection of readings designed to;

> . . . communicate in an agreeable manner, the greatest possible variety of important and diverting facts, without a single sentence to excite uneasy sensation, or an embarrasing inquiry; and, by not seeming to teach, to cultivate a high moral feeling, and the best affections of the heart.[19]

Dame Schools and Common Day Schools

Dame schools provided a rudimentary form of education for the children of parents who could afford the small fee that they charged. But as Tropp indicates, "the education provided in these schools by widows, discharged soldiers and bankrupts was at best the three 'Rs' and the Bible,"[20] for the teachers received no training and were never inspected.[21] Though some were regarded quite highly, most accounts depict dame schools as little more than baby-minding establishments. In the uncomplimentary words of the Report of the Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society 1834;

> The greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. Many of these teachers are engaged at the same time in other employments, such as shopkeeping, sewing, washing etc. which renders any regular instruction among the scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object in sending their children to these schools, but generally say that they go there to be taken care of and to be out of the way at home.[22]

The condition of the buildings that were used for these schools was often very poor, and the teaching facilities almost non-existent.

The common day schools, or private schools, which were for slightly older children, seemed to have been almost as bad. Rev. John Allen reporting on schools in Durham and Northumberland has the following to say about them;

> The masters are generally in no way qualified for their occupation, take little interest in it, and show very little inclination or disposition to adopt any of the improvements that have elsewhere been made in the system of instruction.[23]

Once again, the buildings were often unsuitable and the facilities inadequate.

Charity Schools

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) had founded the first charity school as early as 1698. These schools, for "those whom nature or failure had determined to the plough, the oar and other handicrafts," set out to inculcate the teachings of the Church and propagate "a true judgement of the importance of agriculture in the nation."[24]

Thomas Bray, a passionate propagandist for Anglicanism abroad and a committed activist for its preservation at home, was a leading figure in the S.P.C.K. Like many of his contemporaries he was also concerned about the adequate enforcement of laws against crimes. But, instead of the voluntary societies for the reformation of manners that were common at the time, Bray believed that moral standards could be more effectively established through schooling. In addition, Bray believed these schools could provide an effective counter-measure to the Catholic revival of the day —they could become "little garrisons against Popery."[25]

S.P.C.K. schools were associated with parishes and were staffed by masters who were required to be members of the Established Church. These teachers were expected "to be of meek and humble behaviour; to have good government of themselves; and to keep good order."[26] However, most reports lead one to the conclusion that charity school teachers were untalented misfits similar to the parish school-master described by Dickens in Sketches of Boz.[27] Mandeville's description is particularly uncomplimentary.[28] In a more carefully considered account Jones explains that;

> It is impossible to deny that the masters and mistresses were, as a body, ill equipped for their work, or that they conducted themselves and their schools satisfactorily only when they were subject to constant supervision and inspection. Among them were ignorant, lazy, dishonest and incompassionate men and women . . . But in many cases, they carried on their work, faithfully and efficiently against the most serious of educational handicaps, those of a narrowly limited period of schooling, and irregular attendance.[29]

The teachings of the Church regarding the social order prompted many philanthropic country gentlemen to contribute to the running of the local charity school. For those less moved by humanitarianism or religious motives there was, after 1789, always in the background, the knowledge of current affairs in France.[30] The ruling class in England were very much aware of the possible effects of the French Revolution on those people Burke called the "swinish multitude." Later, as the effects of the French Wars increased the suffering of the poor, civil disorder, which was occurring with increasing frequency in both town and country, emphasized the need for various measures of control. Education was one way—it was hoped that the right sort of education, a "religious education," would combat the ungodly, irreligious and subversive tendencies of the poor, and, instead, teach them to live "upright and industrious lives in that station of life into which it had pleased God to call them."

The curriculum of the charity schools, which consisted in the main of religious instruction, reading, and some preparation for a manual occupation, was clearly designed to produce industrious God-fearing men who would accept stoically, if not happily, their "station in life."

Charity-school sermons and the rows of charity-school children seated in their distinctive uniform in specially reserved pews reminded the parishioners of their responsibilities (and the poor of their place), and collections taken at church would help supplement the legacies, endowments, and voluntary contributions which supported these schools. As many as 30,000 children were being educated at charity schools during the latter part of the eighteenth century, so it should be recognized that these establishments represented a significant contribution to the educational establishment of the day.[31]

Schools of Industry

Locke, as early as 1697, had advocated some sort of school for pauper children;

> The children of the labouring people are an ordinary burden to the parish, and are usually maintained in idleness, so that their labour is generally lost to the public til they are twelve or fourteen years old. The most effectual remedy for this that we are able to conceive, and which we therefore humbly propose, is, that, in the fore-mentioned new law to be enacted, it be further provided that working schools be set up in every parish, to which children of all such as demand relief of the parish, above three and below fourteen years of age, whilst they live at home with their parents, and are not otherwise employed for their livlihood by the allowance of the overseers of the poor, shall be obliged to come.[32]

Locke's attitude towards the poor was shared by many in the eighteenth century, but it was not until the impact of the

Industrial Revolution towards the end of the eighteenth century that "working schools" of this kind were opened. As well as being given religious instruction, the children at these schools were taught various practical skills including spinning, winding, knitting, plaiting straw, cobbling shoes and gardening. Their produce would be sold to pay the expenses of their meals and schooling and, occasionally, it was possible for the children to earn a little from any surplus that might result from the sale of their labour.

Reactions to these schools were often not favourable. Employers objected to them because they distracted a potential labour force, and parents were reluctant to let their children attend them when they found that more could be earned towards the family budget if their child worked in a mill or some other industry. Despite this opposition, however, there were a number of attempts to encourage schools of industry. In 1796 Pitt proposed that children whose parents were in receipt of poor relief should be compelled to attend schools of industry. In the same year, the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comfort of the Poor was founded which, as well as organizing friendly societies, soup kitchens, and savings banks, tried to encourage the formation of schools of industry. But their schools went only a small part of the way towards contributing to the education of the poor, and Pitt's proposal went largely unheeded. In 1804, although there were 188,794 children between the ages of four and fourteen receiving parish relief, [illegible],336 were in schools of industry.[33]

[illegible]ay Schools

In the towns and cities manufacturers demanded child labour, and many parents were forced to rely on children's earnings to supplement the family budget. Little time was left for education. But factory work left one day of the week free, and it was on this day that the most popular and far-reaching type of education took place. Robert Raikes, a wealthy newspaper owner in Gloucester opened a school for children employed in the local pin factory. The school was a success and was made known through the various journals of the day. In 1785, the Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools in the Different Counties of England was founded, and formed committees which, significantly, were composed so that half were Churchmen and half Nonconformists.[34] The aims of Sunday schools were religious and social rather than intellectual but, in some cases, these schools were opened during the week and extended the curriculum beyond religious instruction.

One of the better known cases of Sunday schools extending their function is to be found in the efforts of Hannah and Martha Moore and their collaborator William Wilberforce. In 1789, the sisters began a Sunday school in Cheddar, Somerset. Within ten years they were directing the instruction of some 3,000 children, parents, and aged relatives assembled in schools in twelve parishes. Knitting and spinning were added to religious teaching in their schools. Some remained strictly as Sunday schools while others opened two or three times a week and others, even daily. Over a period of twenty-five years 20,000 children, mainly from miner's and collier's families, were taught in the Mendip schools. But the Moore sisters had no illusions about their role—they had no radical motives in mind as is clear from the following statement;

> . . . my plan for instructing the poor is very limited and strict. They learn on weekdays such coarse work as may fit them for servants. I allow of no writing. My object has not been to teach dogmas or opinions, but to form the lower classes to habits of industry and virtue.[35]

The popularity of the Sunday schools is apparent from the numbers that they attracted. In 1787, there were 25,000 pupils attending Sunday schools in Great Britain. Ten years later this number had increased to 69,000 pupils in over a thousand schools. In 1801, there were 156,490 pupils in London alone. By the 1830s it was commonly estimated that one million pupils, children and adults, attended schools on Sundays.[36] Manufacturers were quick to support them for attending school on Sunday did not interfere with the work week, and some form of disciplined instruction offered the possibility of "civilising" and passifying the worker so that he might better adjust to the regimen of factory work.

Green claims that the Sunday schools were the beginning of popular education. Barnard supports this and adds that they provided the chief means of humanizing and educating the great mass of children who, after the Industrial Revolution, provided labour in factories. Unwin has the following to say about the Sunday schools;

> In the new factory towns, amidst the social degradation and anarchy produced by violent economic change prolonged through twenty years of war, they were the sole organs of a community that transcended the fierce antagonism of misconceived class interests. In them the masters, foremen, and workers of the factory met on the common ground of mutual service.[37]

It is doubtful whether any institutions enabled class interests to be "transcended" and, though workers and their masters may have met on a common ground at Sunday school, they would have had little else in common. However, Unwin's statement provides an example of the opinion of the period regarding the social value of Sunday schools—as important instruments to ameliorate the social unrest that had arisen during this period of great economic, social, and political uncertainty.

Sunday schools were acknowledged by public and authorities alike as prominent forms of education. They came to be included in any survey of the national provision for education, and it is probable that they initiated in Britain the idea of universal education for children of all ages and free of cost. Together with the charity schools, they gave to the British educational system its religious and denominational characteristics which still survive. In the words of Kay-Shuttleworth, the Sunday school system, "laid the foundations of public education for the poor deeply in the religious organizations of the country."[38]

Monitorial Schools

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the political currents stirred up by the French and American Revolutions became more turbulent, and the effects of the Industrial Revolution became more noticeable, there developed a more concerted effort to contain the dissatisfactions of the increasingly vocal working class. Social control through education was patently demonstrated in the establishment's ideal of the time—"to train the poor to an honest and industrious poverty which knew its place and was duly appreciative of any favours received."[39] What was needed was a technique of education that could reach a maximum number of the people at a minimum expense.

Early in the nineteenth century a solution in the form of the monitorial school emerged. The monitorial system could provide popular education, at a low cost, and, furthermore, it was in keeping with the ideas of industrialization. The idea was not new; it must have been practised by established communities throughout history, and had certainly been practised before in England at the public schools. However, the introduction of the method on a large organized scale was the result of the system devised by Andrew Bell and instituted first in England by Joseph Lancaster. Bell, a clergyman of the Established Church and a missionary in Madras, because of a shortage of teachers, had organized senior pupils to instruct younger pupils. On returning to England, he published a description of his method.

Joseph Lancaster, a member of the Society of Friends, having read Bell's description, opened a private school at Southwark in 1803. The school was successful and increasing numbers obliged him to move to new premises, and use monitors to keep all the children occupied. The system was carefully thought out as one of Lancaster's biographers explains;

> When a child was admitted, a monitor assigned him to his class; while he remained, a monitor taught him (with nine other pupils); when he was absent, one monitor ascertained the fact, and another found out the reason; a monitor examined him periodically, and when he made progress a monitor promoted him; a monitor ruled the writing paper; a monitor made or mended the pens; a monitor had charge of the slates and books; and a monitor-general looked after all the other monitors.[40]

The master did little more than organize, reward, punish, and "inspire" the monitors. Influential members of the Society of Friends became interested in the school, and soon its numbers were over 800. The annual cost of educating each child was as little as a guinea.

The monitorial system was well suited to the times—it was a true child of the Industrial Revolution. The whole technique was mechanical; it was efficient and left no room for individuality—in fact, "the system was one of mass production in education";

> The grand principle of Dr. Bell's system is the division of labour applied to intellectual purposes. . . . The principle in manufactories and schools is the same.[41]

In terms of meeting the current requirements of the establishment, the system seemed to be a success: the children learned something, though it may have been of a very elementary nature; they were trained to be quiet and orderly, and in this way prepared for routine of factory work; and the method of teaching was inexpensive. Samuel Whitbread was sufficiently impressed to introduce a Parochial Schools Bill to the House of Commons in 1807 which advocated, among other things, the establishment of rate-aided parochial schools. In support of this Bill he emphasized that a plan for the instruction of youth had been perfected "happily combining rules, by which the object of learning must be infallibly attained with expedition and cheapness."[42] Whitbread proposed that two years of free schooling should be provided for children between the ages of seven and fourteen who could not pay fees. But perhaps the monitorial system was too successful in terms of popularizing education.

The strong opposition that met this proposal gives an indication of the degree of importance that the establishment attached to education as a potential means of social change. As well as the first concern about the cost of implementing such a proposal, there was a very real fear that such a policy would undermine the monopoly of the Church in education. The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking to the Bill in the House of Lords claimed;

> . . . it would go to subvert the first principles of education in this country, which had hitherto been, and he trusted would continue to be, under the control and auspicies of the Establishment.[43]

Furthermore, there was a feeling that increased education might make the lower classes discontented, as Mr. Davies

Giddy's contribution to the debate in the House of Commons clearly indicated;

> However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them.[44]

It would be difficult to find a better example to illustrate how well the management of knowledge was appreciated by the elite of the day.[45] Needless to say, with the predominant mood of both houses representing the interests of landowners and farmers, Whitbread's Bill did not pass.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM[46]

Within the monitorial system itself, there developed a controversy which led to repercussions that were to echo throughout the nineteenth century. Lancaster, it will be remembered was a Nonconformist, while Bell was a clergyman of the Church of England. Now, although Lancaster's curriculum included religious instruction, it was undenominational, and, when the Church learned of the success of his school, it became alarmed. Lancaster was accused of filching Bell's scheme of education and there ensued an extended controversy between the Tories and the Church, who supported Bell, and the Whigs, who supported Lancaster.

The split between Bell and Lancaster was formally recognized in the formation of two societies—the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Esatblished Church throughout England and Wales, and the Royal Lancasterian Association.

The National Society, founded in 1811, took over the charity schools which had been sponsored since the early eighteenth century by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Financial support was provided by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, each giving 500 pounds sterling. By 1830, about 346,000 children were receiving primary education in Church schools assisted by the National Society.[47] A condition of receiving aid from the Society was that Bell's monitorial system had to be followed, that pupils were given instruction in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Church of England, and taken to church regularly on Sundays.

The Royal Lancasterian Association, constituted in 1810 and four years later named as The British and Foreign School Society, developed both at home and on the Continent. A teacher training establishment was opened at Borough Road, London which had a model school attached to it. The schools aided by The British and Foreign School Society were open to those of any denomination. Pupils were required to attend a place of worship on Sundays but no denominational teaching was given.

Whatever the criticisms of the monitorial system, and despite the controversy that raged between the supporters of Bell and Lancaster, it is evident that here, in these developments lay the beginnings of the elementary school system of the nineteenth century. Barnard enumerates the characteristics that Bell and Lancaster introduced into English primary education in the nineteenth century;

> They determined its mechanical methods, its low standards, its large classes and mass production, its emphasis on cheapness, its low ideals of education. But its system of dividing the pupils into groups—instead of the master teaching a few pupils separately while the rest wasted their time—was something of an innovation which has proved of permanent value.[48]

The monitorial schools also had the effect of popularizing elementary education and, in this way, in spite of their negative characteristics, contributed to the development of a rudimentary education system.

In the first part of this chapter I have examined the institution and process of education as an agent of social control. Louise Althusser has identified education as a principal component of the "ideological state apparatus,"[49] and the evidence that has been presented here would suggest that such an interpretation is appropriate in this context. Privileged education not only prepared a particular elite group for key positions in society, but it also effectively identified this group apart from other members of society. Education available to the majority—popular education—inculcated a knowledge of the existing social order and an acceptance of it. In this way the formal education of the day may be seen as a principal agent of social control.

PART TWO

EDUCATION FOR CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

It would be wrong to give the impression that all the educational movements and institutions of the day were oriented towards the functions of preserving the status quo, training an elite, and "civilizing" and controlling the "lower orders." There were significant departures from the forms of schooling already described and, in this section, I shall examine the theory and practice of education of those that have previously been referred to as the "middling class." In identifying the theoretical bases of these more progressive ideas on education it is possible to reveal what Gramsci has called "the pre-existing intellectual categories" that are apparent early in the development of a new ideological position; in this case, that underlying the notion of working-class education.

It is evident that the conventional forms of education followed authoritarian methods and a strictly limited curriculum, which stressed the Classics, or practical skills in the case of the poor, and the teachings of the Church. This approach to education, which has been called the "Classical-Christian approach,"[50] rested on four main assumptions;

1) That the child is evil by nature,

2) That childhood is a preparation for adult life,

3) That education must consist of that which will be useful to the child when he becomes an adult, and
4) That the value in the subjects that are taught lies not in their intrinsic interest, but in the moral and intellectual training that they provide.

In such a system the teacher posed as the authority on which the pupils were supposedly dependent, and knowledge was organized as material to be learned by rote. Discipline was severe and frequently enforced with corporal punishment. In short, there was a prevailing attitude that education was a dismal experience to be enforced by the rod.[51]

By the 1790s, however, besides this restrictive educational thinking and practice, another influence was beginning to make itself known as a result of the impact of such thinkers as Helvetius and Rousseau, and the adoption of their social philosophy in the French revolutionary movement. This rationalist position rejected any notions of innate evil and argued that, since the child was not innately corrupt, the roots of social problems and injustice must lie in the structure of society itself and in mismanaged social processes. Inequality and injustice were seen as aspects of social and institutional decay.

The rationalist position assumed that men were born equal and shared the same original feelings. Any differences between their abilities to discriminate between sensations and ideas were seen to be largely a result of different environments. From these assumptions two basic tenets of the rationalist position follow:

1) The theory of self-interest—the supremacy of reason in choosing between sensations, and in producing the identity of individual and social well-being, and
2) The importance of adopting social (especially directly educational) forces to ensure that the individual's mental processes are developed and perfected, not retarded and denied.[52]

As a generalization, one could claim that rationalist position was concerned with the ideals of justice, truth, and happiness. It was concerned with the concept of justice because supporters of the ideal saw it as unjust to deprive an individual of an equal right to the fullest development. It was concerned with the concept of truth, because it held that only by diffusing an awareness of the true nature of society and man that it was possible to rectify the unjust structure of society. And it was concerned with happiness because happiness was seen to lie in releasing the individual from his artificial status in an artificially organized society and, instead, enabling him to participate on a footing of equality in areas of human experience that had previously been withheld from him.

IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF A RATIONALIST APPROACH TO EDUCATION

The Rationalism of Locke

Interestingly enough, it is Locke, the pragmatic advocate of getting the poor to pay their dues to society through the labour of their children in "working schools," who provides the basis for the rationalist argument. Locke's significance to progressive educational thought lay in his premises and deductions in the field of educational psychology;

> . . . of all the Men we meet with, Nine Parts of ten are, good or evil, useful or not, by their Education. Tis that which makes the great Difference in Mankind.[53]

This position is considerably modified later in the same work to comply with the teachings of the Church;

> God has stamped certain characters upon Mens Minds, which, like their Shapes, may be a little mended, but can hardly be totally alter'd and transformed into the contrary.[54]

But it is the former statement that is picked up by the rationalists, and it is Locke's notion of the child's mind as tabula rasa that provides the basis for the rationalist outlook in education.

Locke considered it necessary to adapt the classical curriculum to more modern needs and suggested children should be taught such subjects as reading, writing, dancing, and languages. He also stressed the need for more humane and effective methods of teaching;

> . . . to give them a Liking and Inclination to what you propose to them to be learn'd, and that will engage their Industry and Application.[55]

These ideas were not new but in keeping with the humane tradition in Renaissance thought, which assumed that men could be led to behave rationally. In England, it was only in the Dissenting Academies that such ideas found any practical response.

The Naturalism of Rousseau

Rousseau, like Locke, was not a campaigner for mass education; he did not argue for a concept of democracy that would involve popular enlightenment. But his ideas, in the hands of the rationalists had radical implications. Rousseau insisted that the child and his nature should be the starting point. The fundamental characteristics of these ideas were rooted in a developing humanist perspective which emphasized the importance and worth of human existence. Such a position is evident in the following statement;

> Man is too noble a being to be obliged to serve . . . simply as an instrument for others, and should not be employed at what he is fit for, without also taking into account what is fit for him; for men are not made for their stations, but their stations for men.[56]

What is particularly significant in this statement is the emphasis on the importance attached to the individual. Irrespective of birth or position, each individual is seen to have the right to equal consideration as a fellow human.

Rousseau's basic position with regard to education is, perhaps, best summarized in the following passage from _Emile_;

> We must therefore teach children only what they are ready to learn at the particular stage of development they have reached: We know nothing of childhood; and with our mistaken notions the further we advance the further we go astray. The wisest writers devote themselves to what man ought to know, without asking what a child is capable of learning. They are always looking for the man in the child, without considering what he is before he becomes a man.[57]

Emile, from the date of its publication in 1762, attracted an enthusiastic following in England. The book had a strong emotional appeal and was popular for its repudiation of dogmatism. Some of the more prominent figures of the century were keen supporters of Rousseau,[58] and Emile encouraged the publication of a number of educational novels which emphasized the supremacy of a "natural" over an "artificial" system of education.[59]

Rousseau's work on education was a conscious reaction against the artificial and puppet-like image of the child nurtured by the French nobility and copied by the English aristocracy of the day.[60] Emile was significant in its originality—it was the first comprehensive attempt to describe a system of education founded on "natural" principles. The book examines the possibility of preserving the original perfect nature of the child by carefully controlling both his education and his environment. Such an education is based on an analysis of the different physical and psychological stages undergone from birth to maturity.[61]

A number of significant features of Rousseau's educational thought should be stressed. First, it is important to recognize that Rousseau placed the child in the centre of the educational process. His work emphasized that the child was not an object to be manipulated by adults, and made to conform to adult rules and methods in order to comply with adult society. Instead, Rousseau emphasized that children should be regarded as individuals in their own right, and that their essential goodness should be recognized. He advocated that there should be a close examination of the nature of children, and that when the results of such an examination were made known, then education should be adapted accordingly. Such views were radically different from the established ideas on children and their education.

The Natural-Scientific Approach to Education

The rationalism of Locke and the naturalism of Rousseau formed a basis for an approach to education that has been referred to as the natural-scientific approach to education.[62] This outlook accepted the value of natural virtues and behaviour, and encouraged the child to develop according to his own nature. An emphasis was placed on presenting information in such a way that the child found it intrinsically interesting, and more importance was placed on practical experience than on words and memory. The curriculum emphasized natural sciences instead of classical languages, and religious instruction was accorded no special importance but, instead, took its place among the other subjects.

As is true of any progressive thought, the natural-scientific approach to education came under heavy attack from the bastions of orthodoxy. Knox, the headmaster of Tonbridge School, wrote a celebrated defence of classical learning.[62] The book, Liberal Education, went through nine editions, and its basic arguments became a standard defence of classical learning.[63] John Wesley was quick to condemn Emile as "the most empty, silly, injudicious thing that a self-conceited infidel wrote," and, as a precautionary measure, advocated more religion and stricter control of children. The message is loud and clear in his often repeated phrase "Break their wills that you may save their souls." And, of course, Hannah Moore saw in the ideas of Rousseau a very real threat to all that she stood for. She constantly stressed the corruption and hopelessness of human nature, and one of her main objectives was to counteract the innate depravity of children.

The Egalitarianism of Helvetius

It is to Helvetius one must turn in order to discover an egalitarian influence on the educational thought of the time. Helvetius, having sympathetically appraised the position of the poor in his own society, made a strong appeal for the development of popular education. Like Locke, Helvetius stressed the adaptability of man through education, but he also directed attention to the ability of the individual to repress or direct his desires and follow the dictates of reason: he emphasized the importance of the emotions as a concomitant to the powers of reason. Helvetius ridiculed the out-dated educational principles and methods he saw around him, and advocated a more realistic, modern curriculum.

Silver remarks that Helvetius' stress on the all-powerful role of education provided a major impetus to a belief in human perfectability among radical thinkers in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth century. Helvetius' doctrine of perfectibility through education was at the centre of debate.[64] Unfortunately, however, it rarely got beyond discussion. In spite of the tradition and vitality of radical thinking in education, its influence on practice in the educational institutions of the day was to be seen only in the academies and schools of the Dissenters.

RATIONALIST APPROACHES TO EDUCATION

The Dissenting Academies

Only in the dissenting academies and schools associated with them was there any evidence of these progressive ideas being put into practice in England. The academies produced many leading thinkers, and their ideas and activities were an important contribution to the course of events in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The Act of Uniformity (1662) had excluded dissenters from universities and the academies were established to provide higher education for non-conformists. Of the Dissenters and their academies Lincoln writes;

> For nearly a century and a half, from the Restoration in 1660 to their decline at the end of the eighteenth century, the academies gave the best and most practical instruction for youth to be found in Britain, outside that is, the colleges and universities of Scotland.[65]

The tutors at these academies were men of high academic attainment who, on finding themselves no longer tied to the limiting influences of education under the Church, were able to make exciting progress in their respective fields.

Characteristic of the Dissenting attitude and, more particularly, the Unitarian attitude towards education was their liberal interpretation of the scope and character of education, a freedom in the use and criticism of textbooks, a toleration of different types of ecclesiastical opinion, and a strong distaste for dogmatic formulae.[66] An indication of the broad principles on which dissenting academies were conducted is evident in the following extract from a report on Carmarthen Academy, Wales which speaks of;

> . . . permitting and encouraging the utmost freedom of inquiry, and placing no restriction on the open avowal of the honest sentiments students may possess, beyond what may be demanded by the respect and decorum in reference to language and manner, which are due to the all-important subject of religion.[67]

Warrington Academy, founded in 1757, was one of the best known of the academies. Its stated aim was to provide for the education of ministers who should be "free to follow the dictates of their own judgements, in their enquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understandings." In addition, the academy set out to give to those intended for commercial life and the learned professions;

> . . . some knowledge . . . in the more useful branches of literature, and to lead them to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for the true principles of religion and liberty, of which principles they must, in future life, be the supporters.[68]

It was at Warrington in the 1760s that Joseph Priestly became tutor in languages and literature, lecturing in the theory of language, oratory and criticism. He also initiated a course on the history, laws and constitution of England—the first time history appeared as a regular academic discipline in a higher education institution in England.

Hackney College (1786-96), another notable example, was planned on a generous scale—"it was liberally supported, nobly housed, amply equipped, and well staffed."[69] The Academy was open to all, and the education was designed to be "comprehensive and liberal, and adapted to youth in general, whether they are intended for civil and for commercial life, or for any one of the learned professions."[70] The curriculum was extensive and varied including Mathematics, Ancient Geography, Universal Grammar, Rhetoric and Criticism, Chronology, History, the General Principles of Law and Government and the English Constitution, Theology, Classics, Hebrew, Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy.

The academies went without official recognition by the State until 1779, when Protestant Nonconformists were finally allowed to become teachers. By this time, the influence of the academies was beginning to decline. But they still represented a characteristic interest in education to be found in the non-conformist communities, and their experiments with new curricula and teaching methods made an important contribution to the educational practice and literature of the day. During the eighteenth century, the academies had produced some of the ablest theorists in education, and it is relevant to consider the legacy they left. Lincoln suggests that three elements combined to determine the Dissenter's attitude to education: a natural right; a psychological theory; and a religious precept. As a result of these influences their culture came to rest upon the double foundation of the Word of God and Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding.[71] In Locke's notion of the child's mind, the Dissenters saw a hope on which to base their visions of the millenium. If the tabula rasa could be taken in its uninformed state, then, all the principles of a good life—true notions of virtue, mental flexibility, candour, benevolence, the love of God and the knowledge of His laws could be written indelibly upon it.[72]

Priestly defiantly claimed that, "Education is a branch of Civil liberty which ought by no means to be surrendered into the hands of the magistrate." The Dissenters believed that the child had a natural right to education, and that the parent had a natural right to determine the nature and content of that education. In spite of these convictions, however, and although they were hostile to all forms of State control, the Dissenters transcended individualism and gave their education a predominantly social character. For them, education should be designed to fashion good citizens and acceptable members of the congregation, rather than to raise occasional prodigies.

Literary and Philosophical Societies

The growing interest in education that was evident at the end of the eighteenth century was not confined to the usual institutional settings. Forward-looking industrialists and professional men in the manufacturing centres of the Midlands and northern England, such as Birmingham and Manchester, advanced projects which took account of the potentialities and effects of developing capitalist industry, and directed attention to the various social problems and responsibilities created by it. Among these projects, education rated highly.

This new interest in education was significantly different from the dominant interests; namely, those of Whig and Tory, parson and squire, Church and university. It came, instead, from a radical movement which represented middle-class interests and played a leading role in the struggle for parliamentary reform, and culminated in the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. Campaigners for educational reform at this time and during the early years of the nineteenth century represented a new political grouping on a national scale.[73]

In England these groups of industrialists and professionals who had become interested in the problems of science, and concerned with issues arising out of industrialization, with public health, education, and philosophical speculation, grouped together in philosophical societies. Members of these societies became the focus of a new critical and scientific spirit. They were not alone in these combined interests in science and technology, and social and political matters.

The rapid expansion of industry and the accompanying development of densely populated urban areas had created numerous problems for local government, and professional men found themselves confronted with entirely new issues, problems, and tasks. The more enlightened industrialists and professional men shared many of these concerns, and it was this commonality of interests that gave rise to the various Literary and Philosophical Societies that became established after 1780.

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1781, first met in the schoolroom of a Unitarian chapel. This is significant for it provides an indicator of another feature of the "Lit and Phils"—many of their members had been educated at dissenting academies. The Unitarians were the most rational and advanced of the Dissenters, and included some of the leading middle-class families. Unitarian ministers were prominent in intellectual and social life, and their chapels became centres of philosophical, scientific, and literary discussion. Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society included such members as Dr. Thomas Percival, friend of Diderot and Voltaire, Cooper, Henry, Dr. Ferriar, John Aiken, and Charles White.

Simon using the Lunar Society[74] as a focal point illustrates the width of interests developed by this section of the middle class and traces their connections with similar groups throughout the country.[75] He shows that they had direct links with philosophers and scientists in America and France, and with those intellectuals who made Glasgow and Edinburgh the important centres of learning that they were in the eighteenth century.[76]

This section of the middle class with their wide interests in art, literature, and science, and their active involvement in the creation of new industrial processes and the development of civic life, were often at variance with many aspects of the social order. As non-conformists they were barred from taking degrees at English universities, and excluded by the Test Acts from holding public office. But these obstructions neither prevented them from obtaining higher education, nor from being involved in politics. In fact, quite the reverse was true; the dissenting academies provided a superior education to the English universities, and members of the philosophical societies were among some of the most committed political activists of the day.

Utilitarianism—Jeremy Bentham and James Mill

Another aspect of the natural-scientific educational movement was Utilitarianism. Jeremy Bentham and James Mill were the two leading figures in Utilitarianism, a philosophical movement which took its name from Bentham's principle of utility. This principle, most readily expressed as the greatest happiness of the greatest number, was a facet of eighteenth-century rationalist philosophy, elaborated in terms of early industrial England. Bentham "taught Englishmen to ask if an institution was useful and efficient and condusive to human happiness." He "taught his age the importance of rational criticism and systematic reform."[77]

The Benthamites, or "philosophic radicals" as they were sometimes called, like other radicals, were concerned to bring about parliamentary reform. Their radicalism called for "moderate reform" which was an adequate doctrine for the rising middle class, seeking confirmation of its growing power through reforms directed against the privileges of the aristocracy. Its values were appropriate to the new methods of production and, in its early stages, Utilitarianism served to create the political and social institutions correspondent to the first stages of the Industrial Revolution.[78]

Utilitarianism, with its emphasis on a rational solution to social problems, had wide appeal and was to attract generations of politicians, economists and social reformers pledged to the radical reform of political and social institutions. Within such a philosophy education rated highly. James Mill, who has been described as the "leading educational theoretician of the Radical movement," and the most prominent ideologue of the middle class,[79] proposed that the purpose of education;

> . . . is to render the individual, as much as possible, an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings.[80]

Many who were to make a significant contribution to educational activities in the nineteenth century, including John Arthur Roebuck, Henry Brougham, William Allen, and William Ellis, were strongly influenced by James Mill. The Utilitarian position represented a widely influential body of middle-class radical thought and activity, but its effect was not restricted to the middle class;

> The boundary lines between middle-class radicalism and orthodox Whig attitudes are not easy to draw, and men like Place and Brougham moved easily across them. . . . In the context of the social disruptions seen to be caused by industrial expansion, in the presence of the serious problems of the factory and the town, it is not surprising that these alliances extended over some issues, to Tories, and evangelical Christians. The evangelical thread that runs from Wilberforce and the Clapham sect in the late eighteenth century, through the campaigns for factory reform in the 1830s, and to Shaftesbury's work for a range of social reforms, is not radical in any political sense, but it provided a momentum of social reform. Its leading members were associated at various points in time with educational campaigns, with Brougham, with Mill, with Robert Owen.[81]

Benthamites were involved in all aspects of education. They were active in Parliament, in the work of educational movements, in the formulation of policies, and in campaigns against taxes on newspapers. However, their interest was not so much fired by the recognition of injustice and hardship, as by the desire to subject chaos to a rational plan. James Mill illustrates this point when, in describing early mass education, he refers to "the hideous deformity of this picture, of an ignorant and brutal people in an enlightened age and country."[82]

Utilitarian educational policy emphasized the importance of the development of mass education, and the reform of middle-class school and university provision. An extract from Mill's article in the 1818 Encyclopaedia Brittanica gives a good account of the radical-utilitarian philosophy of education;

> The question is (and it is a question which none can exceed in magnitude), What is the degree attainable by the most numerous class? To this we have no doubt, it will, in time, very clearly appear . . . that a very high degree is attainable by them.[83]

Mill continues to explain that it is important for the majority of the people to be comfortable and happy for "when the people are wretchedly poor, all classes are vicious, all are hateful, and all are unhappy." A well ordered society requires that people be educated to ensure that they have "a knowledge of the order of those events of nature on which our pleasures and pains depend—and the sagacity which discovers the best means for the attainment of ends."

In the second part of this chapter I have focused on developments in education that had "social change" rather than "maintenance of the status quo" as their principal objective. In the rationalism that was evident in the writings of Locke, Rousseau, and Helvetius, and apparent in the practice of the dissenting academies, and the literary and philosophical societies it is possible to discern the beginnings of a more egalitarian approach to education. In these developments one can see the "pre-existing intellectual categories" on which the working class were to begin to formulate their own theory and practice of education.

SUMMARY

Education for Control

In this chapter education has been discussed as an institution and process which represents a point at which the vital needs of the individual and the requirements of the State intersect; a point at which there is a conjunction or disjunction between the interests of the individual and those of the "power elite." As well as enabling the individual to survive and develop in his environment, education helps to shape the social structure by inculcating a knowledge of the social order that members must internalize and act in accordance with if the existing social structure is to remain unchallenged.

A common factor to the various forms of schooling available during the period 1780-1832 was the dominant role of the Church. Since the State had assumed control over the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century, a close relationship existed between these two institutions. Consequently schooling under the Church was both religious and political.

The public schools like Winchester and Eton, to name the most exclusive, groomed the elite. They were symbolic of the higher echelons of society and prepared the way for entree into these coveted positions. The grammar schools modelled themselves on the public schools. In spite of many efforts to change their focus, they persisted in stressing the traditional, classical curriculum. In so doing, they helped to maintain aristocratic values in a rapidly industrializing society. Oxford and Cambridge, the only universities in England in the eighteenth century, like the public schools and grammar schools, had seen little change since the Renaissance.

The idea of formal education for the "lower orders" was controversial—many considered it quite inappropriate. Aristocratic society required the poor to know and keep their place. From this perspective, education could only bring discontent, and once the labourer was discontented who was going to do his work? Those who approved of some sort of formal education for the "lower orders" saw it as a "civilizing" force, a means of teaching them to read the Bible so that they were aware of their duty to God which conveniently enough coincided with their duty in the traditional hierarchical society.

Education for Change

Education also provides an arena for those who resist the existing social relations and material conditions of production. An alternative to the Classical-Christian approach of the status quo was the Natural-Scientific approach to education. Philosophically grounded in rational philosophy, and the writings of people like Locke, Helvetius, and Rousseau, the Natural-Scientific approach to education was evident in the educational activities of the dissenting academies.

In contrast to the Classical-Christian approach to education, the Natural-Scientific approach emphasized that children were born equal and shared the same original feelings and needs, rejected any notion of innate evil, and encouraged the development of the natural characteristics of each individual. The approach emphasized practical experience rather than books and memory.

Sciences became more important than the Classics, and no special attention was given to religious instruction in this approach. Many of those who earlier in the century had been educated at one of the dissenting academies grouped together in various Literary and Philosophical Societies at the end of the eighteenth century. Many of Neale's "middling class" would have found their way to these societies.

Education has been shown to be an important ideological component of the status quo. It prepared the few to lead and many to follow. It inculcated the key belief patterns that were necessary to maintain the existing social order. It has also been suggested that education can, occasionally, in times of social upheaval, also play a contributing role as an agent of social change. The dissatisfaction of the increasingly significant middle class with the existing opportunities for education led them to develop their own alternative forms of education. The rationalist approach to education that was evident in the dissenting academies, and the literary and philosophical societies was an important beginning for egalitarian approaches to education that were to follow.

NOTES

[1] Power elite: That small group of people who through their capital and/or power and/or authority control major decisions of the State.

[2] J. W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, 1930, p. vii.

[3] Most Church appointments were made at the disposal of the crown or ruling class, and so it was relatively easy to ensure the close identification of the Church with the State. "The head of the state was the head of that church; bishops were nominated by the state, often to reward or ensure political support; changes in the church's liturgy and laws were controlled by parliament; its prelates sat in the House of Lords" (J. Murphy, Church, State and School in Britain, 1971, p. 1).

[4] L. Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900," Past and Present, Feb. 1969, pp. 72-3.

[5] The ostensible function of studying the classics was —and is—to preserve and foster the humanistic values of the ancient world. In the sixteenth century Latin was an essential means of international communication and the advocates of the classics were middle-class humanists critical of aristocratic pretentions to inherited authority. The latent function of the classics (which had become evident within a century) were the reservation of higher culture as the distinctive monopoly of a social elite. A particular educational system— the Public Schools—developed in England to ensure this (See L. Stone, ibid., p. 72).

[6] S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, 1965, p. 121. Regarding the poor standard of eighteenth century grammar school education Curtis writes;

> "Two causes were contributory. One was the steady decline in the standards of both social and official life during the reigns of the first two Georges. There is no need to stress the wholesale corruption of public life under the dominance of Walpole, the cold formality of the religion of the Established Church, and the deterioration in morals and manners of all classes of the community. All this occurred when the thin veneer of culture which was shown so prominently in early 18th century was a most astounding period in history. At the top was a culture which has had very few equals in its polish and refinement. The middle classes were self-satisfied and sensual. The one quality which received universal condemnation was enthusiasm. . . .

> The other cause was the slow transition during which England, from being almost an entirely agricultural country, became the leading industrial nation of the world.
>
> The government of the time did not understand what was happening, and failed to control or direct the course of the Industrial Revolution. Hence it was allowed to take its own course, until the evils which it engendered grew to such magnitude that at length government intervention became a necessity (S. J. Curtis, ibid., pp. 121-122).

[7] S. Smith, "Too much Latin and Greek," Edinburgh Review, 1908 in H. C. Barnard, A History of English Education from 1760, 1966, p. 17.

[8] The Seventy-seventh Canon of the Book of Common Prayer (1604) read;

> No man shall teach either in publick school or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the diocese, or Ordinary of the place, under his hand and seal, being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for the right understanding of God's true religion; and also except he shall first subscribe to the first and last articles aforementioned simply, and to the two first clauses of the second article (Cited in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., 1966, p. 14.

During the sixteenth century the main Reformers, the Anglican, and the Presbyterian assumed complete control over education under the principle of cuis regio, eius reigio—that the Church and the State were one. In Scotland the Presbyterians developed a system of education in which the Kirk had undisputed authority over educational foundations of all kinds, but in England the Established Church never moulded a national system of education. However, the conduct of the schools was placed under episcopal control and the right to teach was restricted to sound Anglicans (See M. Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education, 1963, pp. 1-13).

[9] V. Knox, Liberal Education, 1789 in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 25.

[10] H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 24.

[11] R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1955, p. 13.

[12] P. Colquhoun, A New and Appropriate System of Education, 1806 in J. W. Osbourne, The Silent Revolution, 1970, p. 171.

[13] A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), 1974.

[14] Adam Smith's was not applied consistently for the same "natural liberty" was not applied to the sale of corn as the example of the Corn Laws demonstrates.

[15] The old laws which had regulated wages, and which were discovered still to exist in 1813, were immediately repealed as "pernicious."

[16] Engels in *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* collects much evidence that suggests the existence of this attitude.

[17] J. P. Shuttleworth, MS 1877 in M. Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 1967, p. 4.

[18] *Edinburgh Review*, 1808, *Annual Register*, 1807 in J. W. Osborne, op. cit., p. 171.

[19] *The Everyday Book*, 1826 in J. W. Osborne, op. cit., p. 171.

[20] A. Tropp, *The School Teachers*, 1957, p. 5.

[21] There were some who thought highly of their local dame school. For example, an account of "The Dame School Forty Years Ago" by a "Working Man," which appeared in the *School Board Chronicle* (May 11th, 1872) speaks highly of the dame school he attended at the age of four and compares it favourably with the National School he went to later. However, the more usual picture of these schools that is presented by chroniclers of English education follows the impression that Crabbe presents in *The Borough*, Letter xxiv, cited in H. C. Barnard, 1966, p. 3.

"Yet one there is, that small regard to rule
Or study pays, and still is deemed a school;
That where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits
And awes some thirty infants as she knits—
Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.

[22] *Manchester Statistical Society report on Manchester*, 1834.

[23] Rev. John Allen

[24] L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman, An American in London*, 1956 in W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education*, 1970, pp. 41-42.

[25] W. H. G. Armytage, op. cit., p. 41.

[26] M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 1938 in A. Tropp, op. cit., p. 6.

[27] Dickens characterized the parish schoolmaster as a man who has sustained many misfortunes and financial troubles, and had finally been driven to apply for parish relief. A churchwarden obtains the position of teacher for him and the reader is told: "Time and misfortune have mercifully been permitted to impair his memory, and use has habituated him to his present condition."

[28] Mandeville described charity school teachers as;

> " . . . wretches of both sexes . . . that from a natural antipathy to working, have a great dislike to their present employment, and perceiving within a much stronger inclination to command than ever they felt to obey orders, think themselves qualified, and wish from their hearts to be masters and mistresses of charity schools (*The Fable of the Bees*, 1795 in A. Tropp, 1957, p. 6).

[29] M. G. Jones, op. cit., p. 6.

[30] Various motives induced individuals and societies to undertake the provision of education for the people on a large scale. Adamson claims that there was a very real desire to raise the standard of national life by removing ignorance, advancing morals, and disseminating religious training. He admits however, that there was also a sustained effort to reconcile the poor to their lot, and counteract the teaching of the democrats. He accepts that the excesses in France, the rebellion in Ireland, and the mob violence at home prompted the call for methods of social control but adds; " . . . it would be unfair to human nature and untrue to the facts to regard police measures as the chief function of popular education as understood by all its advocates of the day." (J. W. Adamson, op. cit.,
The picture would seem to be more complicated than the one presented by Adamson, for a variety of motives are discernable:

1) idealists intent on social reform;
2) those who accepted the hierarchical structure as part of "God's plan" and accepted a certain responsibility for the poor—"There but for the grace of God go I";
3) those who saw it imperative to educate the poor,
    a) for reasons of political expedience,
    b) for reasons of social control; and
4) those who saw the education of the poor to be important on humanitarian grounds.

[31] The charity schools provided three elements of the developing English education system;

1) a dogmatic style of religious instruction, firmly centred on religious instruction;
2) the first national educational agency in the form of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge;
3) the strong control that the church maintained over the educational system.

[32] J. Locke, Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1697) in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[33] Report of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 10.

[34] The committee soon developed along denominational lines however.

[35] H. Moore, Letters of Hannah Moore, 1925 in M. Sturt, op. cit., p. 13.

[36] H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 10; J. W. Adamson, op. cit., p. 18.

[37] G. Unwin, Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights, in F. Smith A History of English Elementary Education, 1931, p. 63.

[38] J. Kay-Shuttleworth, Four Periods of Public Education, 1862 in J. W. Adamson, op. cit., p. 18.

[39] H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 52.

[40] D. Salmon, Joseph Lancaster, 1904 in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 53.

[41] Sir T. Bernard, Of the Education of the Poor, in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 54.

[42] Hansard (1806) in H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 54.

[43] Hansard (1807) in Barnard, op. cit., p. 54.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Davies suggests that the manifest function of education is the management of knowledge. He argues that those with the power to control education act as selective filters for different levels of praxis and consciousness. He writes; "All knowledge is shrouded in ideology; the study of educational systems allows us to see what is ideological, to judge how new information is distorted by the combined

historical-structural conditions which determine how it is absorbed or rejected by the ideology of the system (I. Davies, "The Management of Knowledge" in M. F. D. Young *Knowledge and Control*, 1971, p. 278).

[46] Adamson explains the nature of the voluntary system aptly when he writes of it as, "a makeshift solution of the 'religious difficulty' and a compromise between sheer individualism and State-controlled compulsory instruction" (J. W. Adamson, op. cit., p. 25).

[47] The great resources at the disposal of the National Society enabled it to support a large number of schools, and by the early 1830s there were about 3,500 parish connected with the National Society (*Report of the National Society*, 1832 in M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education*, 1963, p. 36).

[48] H. C. Barnard, op. cit., p. 57.

[49] L. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in B. R. Cosin (ed.) *Education: Structure and Society*, 1972, pp. 242-280.

[50] A. A. Evans, "The Impact of Rousseau on English Education," *Researches and Studies*, University of Leeds Institute of Education, Jan., 1955, p. 19.

[51] W. A. C. Stewart, *Radicals and Progressives*, 1972, p. 12.

[52] H. Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, 1965, p. 56.

[53] J. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 1690 in H. Silver, op. cit., p. 58.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., p. 59.

[56] J. J. Rousseau, *New Héloise*, in W. J. McCallister, *The Growth of Freedom in Education*, 1931, pp. 286-7.

[57] J. J. Rousseau, *Émile*, 1762 in E. Lawrence, *The Origins and Growth of Modern Education*, 1970, p. 159.

[58] Included in the circle were Wordsworth, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, and Thomas Poole.

[59] These novels included; Henry Brooke's, *The Fool of Quality* (1776), David Williams' *History of Philo and Amelia* (1778), Maria Edgeworth's *Henry and Lucy* (1778), and Thomas

Day's Sanford and Merton (1783-9).

[60] The child of French society of the day has been picturesquely described as; " . . . an embroidered, gilded, dressed up, powdered little gentleman, decked with sword and sash, carrying the chapean under the arm, bowing, presenting the hand, rehearsing fine attitudes before a mirror. . . . H. A. Taine, The Ancient Regime, (1876) in W. A. C. Stewart, op. cit., p. 17.

[61] Rousseau recognized four stages of development; infancy, childhood, pre-adolescence, and adolescence.

[62] W. A. C. Stewart, op. cit., p. 24.

[63] The basic argument ran as follows;

1) The classics make for the "enlargement, refinement, and embellishment of the mind";
2) They have a meliorative effect on the character; and
3) That they are the best preparation for every pursuit

(V. Knox, Liberal Education (1781) in W. A. C. Stewart, op. cit., p. 20).

[64] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 63.

[65] A. Lincoln, Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent 1703-1800, 1938, p. 66.

[66] McLachlan's enumeration, see H. McLachlan, The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England: Its Contribution to Thought and Learning, 1934, p. 73.

[67] Report of the visitation, Carmathen Academy (1826) in H. McLachlan, ibid., p. 74.

[68] W. Turner, "Historical Account of the Warrington Academy," The Monthly Repository (1813-15) in B. Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, 1974, p. 24.

[69] H. McLachlan, op. cit., p. 94.

[70] Ibid., p. 95.

[71] A. Lincoln, op. cit., p. 67.

[72] Ibid., p. 69.

[73] See B. Simon, op. cit.

[74] So named because it met on the night of the full moon. The group included such members as Matthew Boulton, James Watt, James Kerr, and Dr. William Small.

[75] B. Simon, op. cit., pp. 17-71.

[76] For example, such figures as Adam Smith and John Millar at Glasgow, and William Robertson and Adam Ferguson at Edinburgh.

[77] D. Roberts, Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State, 1960, p. 29.

[78] R. Williams, Culture and Society, 1958, p. 71.

[79] B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, 1960, p. 74.

[80] J. Mill, "Education" in Supplement to The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1818, p. 11.

[81] H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals, 1780-1850, 1975, pp. 28-9.

[82] W. H. Burston, James Mill on Education, 1969, p. 123.

[83] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1818.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STANDARD OF SCHOOLING AND LITERACY IN INDUSTRIALIZING ENGLAND

> . . . the considerable amount of literacy amongst working men and women at the beginning of the nineteenth century was no sudden phenomenon, but rather the outcome of a steady increase in the number of readers amongst the poor in eighteenth century England. . . . Working class literacy, which made working class politics possible, proved to be a potent weapon which had been forged almost unknowingly, throughout the eighteenth century, in classrooms where poor children learned to read, and in the printing offices of men like Cluer Dicey.
>
> Victor E. Neuberg, *Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England*, 1971, pp. 150-51.

INTRODUCTION

While the elite were groomed for their future roles at public schools and universities, the "middle class" schooled in their supportive function at the grammar schools, and a growing number of the more enlightened middle class (the "middling class") were educated at dissenting academies, the majority of the population received a patchwork of education drawn together from experiences of charity schools, dame schools, common day schools, schools of industry and, later, monitorial schools. Judging by the accounts of the conventional histories of education, education for this majority was of a poor quality. There is an accompanying suggestion that the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution made matters worse. Thus Altick, commenting on the effects of the Industrial Revolution writes;

> The occupational and geographical relocation of the people—the total disruption of their old way of life, their conversion into machine-slave, living a hand to mouth existence at the mercy of their employers and of certain economic circumstances; their concentration in the cities totally unprepared for them, not least in respect to education; the resultant moral and physical degradation—these, as we shall see, had significant consequences in the history of the reading public.[1]

Two factors readily emerge from these kind of conventional histories as indicators of the apparent neglect of education at the time. First, it is shown that the total number involved in schooling was very low; and, second, it is emphasized that there was no legislation with regard to education until 1833. Any attempts at education that were obviously in progress at the time are usually dismissed as being of poor quality. These considerations are then situated in a context in which education is regarded as an indicator of social conditions; it is seen "as a consumer good rather than a producer good."[2] It is then concluded that industrialization was detrimental to educational progress.

In a reassessment of education during the Industrial Revolution, West presents a case for an alternative interpretation.[3] West argues that in conventional histories of education it is assumed that the growth of education is linked to the growth of the centralized political control of education. There is an assumption that education was of a poor quality because it was not part of an integrated national system: "Conventional histories lead on to the belief that no substantial progress could have occurred without legislation."[4] West is critical of such an assumption and it will be instructive to consider the main points of his argument, which can be categorized under the two headings "statistical considerations" and "criteria of education standards."

POPULAR SCHOOLING IN INDUSTRIALIZING ENGLAND

Statistical Consideration

Using the same primary sources as others, West comes to somewhat different conclusions about the state of education in England during the Industrial Revolution.[5] He comments that, "The biggest area of statistical contention comes in fact not from choice of figures but from different views as to their interpretation."[6] While there was no lack of enthusiasm for the collection of data during the period with which the study is concerned, contemporary researchers were pre-statistical in their systematic processing, analysis, and application: "The outstanding error consisted of the misidentification and misapplication of the 'school-age' population base."[7] This error, in many cases, has been repeated by today's researchers. West suggests that by choosing 5-15 years as the basis for the "population of school age," investigators of the time (and investigators today who choose to use their statistics) produced an educational "deficiency."[8]

The Government Report of 1833 (The Kerry Report)—the only available national figures on education at that time—was criticized by the Manchester Statistical Society and, on the basis of this criticism, the new Select Committee of 1838 dismissed the official returns of the Kerry Report as unreliable.[9] From evidence that can only be regarded with suspicion[10] the 1838 Select Committee estimated that in the towns the proportion of the total population receiving education was 1 in 12; of this proportion, only in about half of the cases was the education provided judged as satisfactory by the Committee's standards.[11] According to the Report 9 percent of the total population were to be found in day school while the proportion of children between 5 and 15 years was

24 percent. West comments that it is this Report that has misled most writers concerned with education at the time of the Industrial Revolution.

It was not until 1839 that there appeared specific information on the de facto school entering and leaving ages. An intensive house-to-house survey had been conducted in 1838 in the town of Pendleton, a "typical town of the Industrial Revolution"[12] near Manchester. The results revealed that the majority of children left school at about 10 years of age.[13] West suggests that, "If this was typical one should conclude not that only one out of three children ever received instruction, but that probably well over 90 percent did."

> In addition we must note that according to the statistical societies the unreliability of 1833 Government Return was in the direction of serious underestimate. But most important it is clear that if we want a precise measure of the "deficiencies" in the quantity of nineteenth century schooling we must concentrate mainly, not on the number who never received it (which was very small), but on the "shortness" of the number of years of schooling of those who did; and on an argument that 4 or 5 years schooling was inadequate and that another year or so would have made all the difference.[14]

The statistical evidence, in fact, points to a significant growth in education during the early nineteenth century. Henry Brougham's Select Committee report in 1820 provided the first comprehensive official statistics on schooling.[15] According to the report, in 1818 about one in 14 or 15 of the population was being schooled. This represented a considerable improvement since the beginning of the century, and was largely a result of the efforts of the ecclesiastical groups. In a private follow-up study, using a 5 percent sample survey with the same sources (the parochial clergy) Brougham in 1828 found that the number of children had doubled in ten years.[16] The noticeable rise in literacy rates after 1780 are consistent with the significant growth trend in education.[17]

Criteria of Educational Standards

The Report from the Select Committee on Education of the Poor Classes (1838), concluded that education at the beginning of the nineteenth century was in a poor state—more specifically it claimed, among other things, that the kind of education offered was lamentably deficient. Official concepts of sufficient education for the poor usually went little further than a concern with "character training" and "proper religious instruction." West suggests that some schools were written off by the statistical societies as worthless largely on account of failure in these respects.[18] In contrast, popular demands were for secular education, and it was in response to parental wishes that a new emphasis on the "three Rs" became apparent in the schools.[19] The Sunday schools were seen to be fulfilling the requirements of religious instruction and so there was a demand for education in more "practical" matters during the week.[20]

The education of the early nineteenth century has been criticized in a number of ways. It has been suggested, for example: that the majority of schools were little more than child-minding institutions, or, if they are credited with anything more than the status of custodial institutions, that they were used "to produce docile workers for nascent capitalism"; that their teachers were too few and too poorly paid to be efficient, or that the education was too "mechanical."[21] Clearly, there is a limit to the number of these claims that can be made together and held consistently, if the criticisms are intended to apply to the general state of education in the country at the time.

The Demand for Education Among the Working Class

That the poor were concerned to gain an access to education has already been mentioned. This did not go unnoticed at the Government level—the 1818 report of the Select Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the Education of the Lower Orders reads;

> There is the most unquestionable evidence that the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated but daily increasing; that it extends to every part of the country, and is to be found equally prevalent in those smaller towns and country districts, where no means of gratifying it are provided by the charitable efforts of the richer classes.[22]

Before this, in 1813, the Whig journal—the Edinburgh Review—had noted that knowledge competed with food as a claim upon family income;

> Even around London, in a circle of fifty miles, which is far from the most instructed and virtuous part of the kingdom, there is hardly a village that has not got something of a school; and not many children of either sex who are not taught, more or less, reading and writing. We have met with families in which, for weeks together, not an article of sustenance but potatoes had been used;

> yet for every child the hard-earned sum was provided to send them to school . . . [23]

West forwards a convincing case against the commonly held view that the Industrial Revolution brought with it a stagnation of education. He draws attention to the accomplishments of the schooling of the day, and refers to various institutions other than those of formal schooling that developed in this period, especially in the industrial areas, and made their contribution to educational growth during the Industrial Revolution—a growth which has gone largely unrecognized.

THE WORKING CLASS READER

That there was a working class reading public at the end of the eighteenth century is clear, and it was probably much larger than most estimates lead one to believe. To substantiate this claim it is necessary to return to an earlier period. It has been suggested that Tudor England may have known a literacy rate of forty or fifty percent, and that a good proportion of the lower classes in the seventeenth century could read.[24] If the educational activities of the eighteenth century did no more than hold ground, the working class had a relatively broad base of literacy from which to develop their educational activities in the nineteenth century.

There had been encouragement in the eighteenth century to extend literacy. George III himself had stated that it was his wish that every child in his kingdoms might learn to read the Bible, and the Church, Methodists, and Evangelicals had been enthusiastic in their support of this wish. There was also a belief that due subordination and respect to superiors and the laws of society could be conveyed, and social control improved through the written word. Crime, it was thought, could be prevented if the public were literate. John Clay, the chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, maintained that education prevented crime either by inculcating religious principles or by creating tastes incompatible with the "low and debasing propensities" which led the ignorant and sensual to violate the laws.[25]

The working class grew interested in literacy and education for other reasons. As the ability to read became more widespread so too did its social prestige. A social value was attached to being able to read and having one's children at school. Those whose economic position improved could meet the expense of school fees, and sent their children to school without the encouragement of philanthropists. The industrial system demanded new skills and responsibilities, and living in cities posed new problems and created additional challenges. Knowledge of these changing circumstances became a crucial aspect of life during the Industrial Revolution—often the difference between work and poverty— and so literacy was regarded highly. In addition, the increasing interest in politics and the growing realization that it was possible to change the social order, as shown by their American cousins and French neighbours, made many workers inquisitive to find how they might play their part and better the conditions of their own life. This inquisitiveness was encouraged in a number of ways;

> The influence of the crises of the period—bringing a new play of ideas, class-consciousness and constant prescriptions of most working-class leaders to "get knowledge" must have been potent if immeasureable.[26]

One estimate of the extent of working-class literacy and interest "to get knowledge" is apparent in the reactions of government to certain radical literature. West indicates that the most salient fact about the first third of the nineteenth century was that the effect of the State upon individual efforts to become literate was one of deliberate interference.[27] Frightened by the revival of the Radical movement, the government reacted against the spread of political literature among the "lower orders" through fiscal and legal measures designed to prevent the spread of newspapers, especially those critical of government.

The control of literature did not stop at newspapers for books were also the subject of restraints. Tom Paine's Rights of Man, which it has been claimed sold one and a half million copies, and William Cobbett's Address to the Journeymen and Labourers, which sold 200,000 copies in two months, greatly alarmed the government. The official energy displayed in suppressing such literature was based on the knowledge that reading ability was widespread.

The difficulties of obtaining reliable statistical information for the period are well known, but a study carried out by John Freeman at the end of the Napoleonic Wars gives some indication of the literacy rates.[28] Freeman visited 153 families which provided him with a sample of 594 persons, 268 of whom were children. Of the adults, 216 were able to read and 110 were illiterate. He accepted this as a fair proportion and transferred it to the population of England as recorded in the 1811 census and, though admitting his lack of evidence, noted that he could not conclude "that in this kingdom, there are less than twelve hundred thousand persons to whom a Bible is useless, in consequence of their capacity to read." Unfortunately, the location of the study and the class of the sample are not specified. However crude the study, the results showing two-thirds of the public as literate is interesting, for there is a repeated recurrence of this proportion in the available statistics. More specifically, this proportion re-occurs among different occupational groups, in different areas for the working class alone.

Apart from the indicators of literacy already mentioned there are also records which provide more formal statistical evidence of the literacy rate at the time. Since literacy is commonly taken to mean both the ability to read and write, it is pertinent to note that the ability to read was in advance of the ability to write. Literacy, here, is taken to mean the ability to read since it is the ability to comprehend new ideas, and communicate a common point of view that is crucial to appreciating the development of working-class education.

The records of those committed by the Home Office from 1835 show that of those committed for trial between 1837 and 1839, 44.6 percent were reported to be able to read and write.[29] It should be noted that these figures are not representative of the population and, because they mix the statistics for older and younger persons, they do not adequately reflect the current education standards of juveniles. Criminals aged thirty and over would have been of school age during the difficult period of the Napoleonic War.

The Report on the Training of Pauper Children (1838) in workhouses by the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, James Philip Kay, provides statistics pertaining to literacy. Of the children maintained in the workhouses of Suffolk and Norfolk 87 percent of them could already read to some extent, while a smaller number (53 percent) could write.[30]

TABLE FIVE[31]

WORKHOUSE CHILDREN IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK, 1838

Youths from 9 to 16 years	Who can read well	206
	Who can read imperfectly	217
	Who cannot read	62

An inspection into the educational standards in the mining districts of Northumberland and Durham in 1840 reveals similarly high statistics of literacy. The records show that 79 percent of the miners were able to read, and more than half of them had also learned to write. As West notes, this attainment must have been largely independent of state help, which started in 1833, when most of these pit men would have left school.[32]

TABLE SIX[33]

LITERACY AMONG NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM MINERS, 1840

Colliery	No. of pitmen employed	No. who can read and write	No. who can read only	No. who can neither read nor write
Wallsend	265	145	76	44
West Towneley	206	100	50	56
Benwell	153	89	29	35
Elswick	127	56	51	20
Backworth	92	55	14	23
Total	843	445	220	178

The Assistant Handloom Weavers Commissioners' Reports in 1839 showed the Handloom Weavers to be more advanced than the miners. According to one inspector, only 15 of 195 adults (shoploom weavers) in Gloucestershire could neither read nor write.[34] In Hull a special survey of the reading and writing abilities of people conducted in 1839 found that of the 14,526 adults (people over 21) 14,109 had attended day or evening school, and that only 1,054 of them could not read.[35]

Available estimates even in the southern agricultural districts, which were among the worst, rarely dropped much below fifty percent.[36] Webb concludes;

> . . . [that] of the one-quarter to one-third of the working class population remaining totally illiterate, a large part must have been among the very low levels, a fact which would correspondingly raise the literacy of the body of workmen who made up the great political potential in English life.[37]

A more recent study supports Webb's findings. Stone suggests that the figures for the literacy rate throughout the eighteenth century range between 35 and 40 percent, except for a sharp but temporary set back in the third quarter of the century, which may have been due to a rising population outpacing existing educational facilities.

As early as 1726 a continental visitor had commented, perhaps with some exaggeration, that;

> All Englishmen are great newsmongers. Workmen habitually begin the day by going to coffee rooms in order to read the latest news. I have often seen shoe-blacks and persons of that class club together to purchase a farthing newspaper.[38]

The most substantial improvement, which raised the literacy of the poor from around 40 to 60 percent, was achieved early in the nineteenth century.[39] By the end of the eighteenth century, then, it is reasonable to suppose that a sizeable proportion of the working-class population would be able to read pamphlets, ballads, provincial papers and books, and pass on their content to fellow workers.[40]

SUMMARY

Conventional histories of education lead one to believe that the standards of schooling and literacy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were low. Such a position has been reached by those who assume that the growth of education is necessarily linked to the growth of centralized political control.

This chapter has presented statistical evidence which points to a significant growth in schooling and literacy during the period, and to the conclusion that the working class were increasingly coming to recognize the importance of education. The number of children who received no education was very low, and the extent of working-class literacy was greater than most estimates lead one to believe. A literacy rate of two-thirds of the population recurs in the literature, a proportion which was considerably higher in some working-class communities.

NOTES

[1] R. D. Altick, The English Common Reader, 1957, p. 84.

[2] E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 1975, p. 3. For an account of education as a "producer good" see T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital" in M. Blaug, Economics of Education, vol. I, 1968.

[3] West's conclusion is; " . . . that despite the widespread belief to the contrary, education expanded significantly during the periods examined; and at least on a priori reasoning, there is a fair presumption that it significantly assisted economic growth throughout. There was an Educational Revolution as well as an Industrial Revolution" ibid., p. 256. Plumb supports such a position. On the growth of education has the following to say;

> From 1700 to 1770 there was a steady growth in England of educational facilities, especially for the commercial classes, and probably for the skilled artisan; after 1770 this growth became very rapid indeed. About the provision for the poor, except for charity schools, we know very little. Many villages had dame schools, and in most major towns evening classes could be very cheap. Some aristocrats, such as the marquis of Rockingham, provided a school on their estates, supporting the schoolmaster and buying the books. Sunday schools were more concerned with religious indoctrination and social conformity than education, and only a few encouraged reading. Many of the patriarchically minded founding fathers of the Industrial Revolution ran schools, as Robert Owen did at Lanark, or provided a craft teaching, as did Jedediah Strutt and Richard Arkwright" J. H. Plumb, "Children in Eighteenth Century England," 1975, p. 71.

[4] E. G. West, op. cit., p. 6.

[5] West cites the following sources; Manchester Statistical Society; the Statistical Societies of London, Bristol, Hull, Birmingham and other big towns; Hansard; Horace Mann's Census Report on Education in England and Wales in 1851; The Government Return of 1833; Select Committee Reports on Education, Henry Brougham's private statistical surveys; Factory Inspector's Reports; the National and British Foreign Schools Societies and the Reports of the Committee of Council.

[6] E. G. West, op. cit., p. 8.

[7] Ibid., p. 8.

[8] Educational "deficiency" can be produced by arbitrary variations of the "school-age" population base. It only became appropriate to use 5-15 years as the basis for the school-age population of England and Wales in 1972. It is not reasonable to suppose that the school age in the nineteenth century should extend over the same period of time.

[9] In spite of this The Kerry Report is still being used as an authoritative source. For example, Phyllis Deane in support of her hypothesis that lack of education delayed the organization of labour in the 1830s and 1840s, writes; "The Education Returns collected in 1833 showed that only one out of three of the children of school-age were receiving any kind of daily instruction. . . ." The First Industrial Revolution, 1965, quoted in E. G. West, op. cit., p. 19.

[10] "The exchange between Gladstone and Kay* strikingly illustrates the difficulties in obtaining straight answers on the subject as well as the erroneous nineteenth century uses of the school-age population base. The committee, simply wanting to know how much education existed in the towns, in 1838 asked Kay, via (the devout) Mr. Gladstone the direct and apparently innocent question: 'Can you form an estimate of the amount of deficiency in the means of education in any given district, say for instance, the district of Manchester?' Promptly diverting attention to quality and away from quantitative facts (which contained much potential surprise for those prepared to probe), Dr. Kay replied: 'If by education I am to understand what I have previously described, sound religious instruction, correct moral training, and a sufficient extent of secular knowledge suited to their station in life, I should scarcely say that it exists within the limits of my observation.' Chairman: 'You think it is not afforded by any schools at present efficiently?' Dr. Kay: 'Not efficiently' (Report, paras. 100 and 101)." E. G. West, op. cit., pp. 12,13.

[11] "Lack of 'character training' and 'proper religious instruction' was the strongest criticism of quality of education made by those who advised early nineteenth century-governments" (E. G. West, op. cit., p. 11).

[12] E. G. West, op. cit., p. 18.

[13] Statistics from this report are shown in E. G. West, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

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*Paras. 102-113 of the 1838 Select Committee Report are included in West's text (ibid., pp. 12-19).

[14] E. G. West, op. cit., p. 19. On the subject of this underestimate West writes;

> "Concerning the township of Manchester, at least, this criticism was indeed serious. According to the Manchester Statistical Society, which was one of the first bodies to undertake intensive local investigations, the total error made by the Kerry Report in this one town alone amounted to an understatement of 8,646 scholars—mainly day scholars. This was a 27 percent error when compared with the total figure of 32,166 day, evening and Sunday scholars.* The understatement was much more serious when related to the population of day scholars. There were omitted in the Kerry Report about half the day schools and one-sixth of the Sunday schools. The underestimate of day scholars must have been at least 33 percent." (West, op. cit., 1975, p. 76). West notes that similar reports on the towns of Bury, Hulme, Liverpool and Birmingham lead to the same conclusion (ibid., p. 85).

*Report of a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Borough of Manchester in 1834, cited in E. G. West, op. cit., p. 90, n.

[15] Parliamentary Papers, 1820 (15) xii 341 349, cited in E. G. West, op. cit., p. 75.

[16] Speech in the House of Lords, May 21, 1835. Brougham's findings should be qualified in the light of the following considerations;

1) The natural increase in the population over this time would mean that the per capita growth-rate of schooling was less than the total rate. The population increase in this period was approximately one-fifth;
2) The accuracy of local enumeration of schools could have improved in 1828 compared with 1818 but it is unlikely that this could have accounted for all the growth (West, ibid., p. 75).

[17] L. Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900," Past and Present, Feb., 1969.

[18] Ibid., p. 11.

[19] "Unable to persuade the existing Sunday schools to teach their children to read and write, they 'founded their own, and met, for lack of other accommodation, in the largest local public house' (H. J. Perkin, 'The Origins of the Popular Press,' History Today, VII (1957), p. 428)."

[20] E. G. West, op. cit., p. 11.

[21] E. G. West's enumeration, ibid.

[22] Third Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Order, 1818, in E. G. West, ibid., p. 74.

[23] Edinburgh Review, (1813), in E. G. West, ibid.,

[24] G. Davies, The Early Stuarts, 1937 in R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1955, p. 14.

[25] R. K. Webb, op. cit., 1955, p. 15.

[26] Ibid., p. 15.

[27] E. G. West, op. cit., 1965, p. 126. West notes that most modern specialists seem to be agreed on this matter, and adds that the documentary evidence is abundant. He cites A. Aspinal, Politics of the Press, 1949, as the best account of this evidence.

[28] Cited in R. K. Webb, op. cit., 1955, p. 21.

[29] R. K. Webb, "Working Class Readers in Early Victorian England," The English Historical Review, 1950.

[30] Cited in E. G. West, Education and the State, 1965, p. 129.

[31] E. G. West, ibid., p. 129.

[32] Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-41, Appendix III, p. 138; cited in E. G. West, 1965, pp. 129-30.

[33] E. G. West, op. cit., 1965, p. 130.

[34] Ibid.

[35] "Report on the State of Education in the Borough of Kingston upon Hull," Journal of the Statistical Society of London, July 1841; cited in E. G. West, 1965, p. 130.

[36] R. K. Webb, op. cit., 1955, p. 22.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 85.

[39] R. K. Webb, op. cit., 1955, p. 109.

[40] On the subject of statistics of literacy West writes; "To the possible objection that the statistics of literacy may conceal a too generous interpretation of the

term 'reading ability' there are two important answers. First, there was a remarkable consistency between all the various surveys in different parts of the country and by different types of investigators. Second, there is evidence that the education inspectors who made some of the tests were so demanding that their figures were, if anything, underestimates" (op. cit., 1965, p. 131).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIO-POLITICAL RADICALISM AND THE ROOTS OF WORKING CLASS EDUCATION

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. —That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.
>
> Thomas Jefferson, Extract from "The Declaration of Independence" in The Political Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 1955.

> I. Men are born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.
>
> II. The end of all political associations, is, the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.
>
> III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any INDIVIDUAL, or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.
>
> The first three articles from "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens" in Thomas Paine, Rights of Man (1791-2), 1971, p. 132.

INTRODUCTION

The Declaration of Independence (1776) issued by the American Colonies reawakened political feelings and radical sentiment in Britain. Radicalism had existed as a diffuse and unstable urban movement since the 1760s, when John Wilkes had aroused popular opinion in his appeals to the London crowds, but it did not emerge as a definite political tradition until the early 1780s. Radicalism became a political force to be reckoned with when people like Horne Tooke and Major Cartwright began to organize those with radical opinions for practical purposes. Cartwright founded the Constitutional Society in 1780 with the objective of giving the public political information and promoting the recovery of the full right of representation in the House of Commons.[1] The Society, following Major Cartwright's Take Your Choice, published in 1776, emphasized political equality and the need to eliminate political distinctions as "causes for the elevation of some above the rest, prior to mutual agreement."[2]

Two broad categories of radicalism developed—moderate reformists and radical or constitutional reformists—and the distinction between these two intensified considerably after the French Revolution. The effects of the French Revolution and the rapid social changes occurring as a result of the Industrial Revolution prompted the emergence of a distinctively popular radicalism. Cole points to the significance of this development;

> The question posed in Great Britain up to 1789 was almost exclusively one of political rights . . . and not a change of social system. Not until we arrive at the second part of Tom Paine's Rights of Man do we find the first fundamental social programme put forward on behalf of the people since the days of Whinstanley and the Diggers.[3]

The Radical tradition grew increasingly diversified. As well as Cartwright and his radical reformists there were the Benthamites. But most alarming of all, at least for the Church and State, was the popular radical movement. The effects of the two revolutions and the writings of Paine and Godwin—which made the implications of these events clear for all to see—stimulated the growth of an "extensive tradition of articulate, far-reaching ideas of political and social reform, ideas which gained a new lease of life in the period after the war ended in 1815."[4]

Radicalism had grown strong enough to be seen as a threat to both Church and State and it was at this time that the Tories coined the name "radical" as an "Offensive nickname for the revolutionary democrats."[5] By 1819 magistrates feared that the radicals were arming and that their aim was now more than manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments, for "in one way of another they intended to restore the land to the community and abolish private property."[6] Programmes of radical reform became the central topic of public debate and the various forms of radicalism began to be associated with class interests;

> The various traditions of radicalism were to be remolded into the two key concepts of working-class and middle-class radicalism. Radicalism, social class and education became intertwined problems and concepts.[7]

The Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man had many points in common, and two figures in English Radicalism linked the revolutions together; Richard Price and Thomas Paine. Price's "Discourse on Liberty" and Paine's "Common Sense" were the "two great English manifestos" in the American cause. The revolution in France prompted both writers to take up the pen again. Price's sermon on the "Love of Country" and Paine's Rights of Man were the English statements of sympathy with the cause of the revolution.

Price welcomed the French Revolution as a major event for human liberty. In his address at a public meeting in November 1789 he welcomed the "glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the unalienable rights of mankind . . . . and make the world free and happy."[8] The publication of Price's Discourse provided an important ideological statement in support of popular radicalism. Issues, which before had remained mysteries to the majority of the people, were suddenly brought into sharp focus by the French Revolution, and tangible objectives now became visible. The implications of the new awareness of the people regarding political matters was also evident in other quarters, however, and anti-revolutionary opinion hardened in England. Edmund Burke in Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), attacked Price and his ideas regarding the Revolution and its underlying principles. But this attack, far from discouraging radical opinion, prompted a response which became fundamental to the radical movement.

RADICAL PERSPECTIVES

Tom Paine—The Voice of "Everyman"

The response to Burke's tirade was dominated by Tom Paine's Rights of Man—an appeal for reason and just government. Paine argued that the American and French Revolutions had "thrown a beam of light over the world."[9] As a result, ignorance was being dispelled and, once dispelled, it would not reappear. In Paine's words, "though a man may be kept ignorant, he cannot be made ignorant . . . it has never yet been discovered how to make man unknow his knowledge or unthink his thoughts."[10] Under a well regulated government, a nation "should permit none to remain uninstructed." So as to leave no doubt in the minds of his readers he further emphasized that only monarchical and aristocratic government required ignorance for its support. Paine identified ignorance as the prime enemy and introduced to popular politics a commitment to social and educational advance based on political rights and social ideals.

Paine's work is the classic statement of working-class rationalism. Paine—stay-maker, teacher, petty official, tobacconist, journalist and inventor—managed to achieve a rapport with the public that few writers have ever achieved;

> Paine was the people for whom he wrote, the self-made, self educated, self reliant men as not yet finally divided into employers and hired hands.[11]

Three times Paine, through his publications, became the voice of "everyman." Common Sense (1776) "crystallised the half-formulated aspirations for American independence"; Rights of Man (1791-2) "said all most English Radicals would wish to say on its subject"; and Age of Reason (1794) became the first book to say flatly, in language comprehensible to the common people, that the Bible was not the word of God.[12]

In 1791 Paine published the first part of his Rights of Man, "being an answer to Mr. Burke's attack on the French Revolution." Paine's defence of the French Revolution was based on a similar position to the one he had voiced to the people of America; for full democracy, equality, and the spirit of fraternity among equals. Paine's reply to Burke was the most popular of many for it was written in plain language and readily understood;

> Paine said just the things that were most calculated to rouse the ordinary man, and to put Radical thoughts into his head.[13]

Burke had criticized the very idea of revolution, sympathizing with the nobility and ignoring the poor or, as Paine put it, "he pitied the plumage and forgot the dying bird."[14] Unlike Burke, who couched his position in the framework of constitutional argument, Paine asserted that each successive generation was competent to define its own rights and form of government. He argued that all governments, except those of France and America, derived their authority from conquest and superstition, and that their foundations lay upon "arbitrary power." Of the foundations and continuation of the hereditary principle Paine writes;

> It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of Robber in that of Monarch; and hence the origin of Monarchy and Kings.[15]

Paine was the first to express such sentiments publicly with such irreverence—in one book he destroyed century-old taboos. But, more than this, he set out the ground for a theory of the State and of class power;

> . . . there are two distinct classes of men in the nation, those who pay taxes, and those who receive and live upon taxes.[16]

He went on to point out that the Constitution, while admirable for ;

> courtiers, placement, pensioners, borough-holders, and the leaders of the Parties . . . ; is a bad Constitution for at least ninety-nine parts of the nation out of a hundred.[17]

Paine also made reference to the conflict between the propertied and the unpropertied—"when the rich plunder the poor of his rights, it becomes an example to the poor to plunder the rich of his property."[18]

In the second part of Rights of Man Paine introduces the notion of "society" acting through a representative system as a government. Thompson summarizes the content of the crucial fifth chapter;

> Here, after extolling commerce and industrial enterprise, clouting colonial domination (and—later—proposing international arbitration in place of war), hitting out at the penal code ("legal barbarity"), denouncing closed charters, corporations, and monopolies, and exclaiming

> against the burden of taxation, he came to rest for a moment on the sins of the aristocracy . . . And this led him on to far-reaching impressionistic proposals for cutting the costs of government, Army and Navy; remitting taxes and poor rates; raising additional taxation by means of a graduated income-tax (rising to twenty shillings in the at 23,000 p.a.); and paying out the moneys raised or saved in sums to alleviate the position of the poor.19

Among his proposals were family allowances; public funds to enable general education of all children; and old age pensions—"not as a matter of grace and favour, but of right." In this chapter Paine anticipates what is not to be the subject of social legislation until the twentieth century.

For most of Paine's readers salvation by private enterprise was not the answer. They were against "privilege" which stood in the way of "freedom," they were also against unrecognized and new forces which pushed men such as themselves into poverty. They were independent enough—as skilled artisans, small shopkeepers and farmers—to see themselves as the future, not because (like the Marxian proletariat) the very degree of their oppression destined them for revolution, but because it was ridiculous and irrational that independent men should not triumph. It took another 25 years for rationalist artisans of the Painite type to seek their "salvation" through "general union" and a co-operative commonwealth but, already, poverty was for them a collective fact to be solved and not merely escaped.

For Paine the great question of Revolution was;

> . . . whether man shall inherit his rights and universal civilisation take place. Whether the fruits of his labour shall be enjoyed by himself . . . Whether robbery

> shall be banished from the courts and wretchedness from the countries.[20]

Paine's contribution has a forceful impact on popular political organization. The radical organizations of the 1790s distributed and discussed the Rights of Man and made its ideals of justice, reason and humanity widely known. Its circulation was wide enough to give a whole new impetus to radical organization, and a new dimension to the anxiety of the authorities who prosecuted it.[21]

The rapid spread of radical ideas led to the formation of many reform organizations throughout the country. The Constitutional Society became active again, and a new network of reform organizations were set up at metropolitan, town, district and neighbourhood levels to discuss social and political matters, circulate books and pamphlets, publish and campaign for reform.[22] Members of these organizations, though they might well have been involved in demonstrations and general political agitation, had not previously been organized for political action.

William Godwin and Political Justice

William Godwin's appeal in Political Justice (1793) was to a more limited audience than Paine's[23] but, although it did not have the same kind of popular circulation as the Rights of Man, it was influential in a different way. Godwin forwarded a theory of a just society in which education played a central role. Unlike Paine, he opposed the idea of government intervention in education;

> The project of a national education ought uniformly to be discouraged on account of its obvious alliance with national government. This is an alliance of a more formidable nature than the old and much contested alliance of church and state . . . Government will not fail to employ it [education] to strengthen its hands and perpetuate its institutions.[24]

Godwin saw that education was too powerful an instrument to be in the hands of the state. The creation of a just society was dependent upon an efficient and humane system of education.

In Political Justice and Enquirer Godwin forwarded the most radical educational theories of the 1790s, which included both a broad analysis of education's contribution to social regeneration, and a detailed discussion of questions relating to teaching and learning.[25] Like Helvetius, Godwin stressed the importance of the environment—"the actions and dispositions of men flow entirely from the operation of circumstances and events . . . acting upon a faculty of receiving sensible impressions."[26]

Godwin's position was derived from Locke's philosophical outlook (Essay on Human Understanding, 1690), but more directly based on David Hartley's associationism. Hartley suggested that mental characteristics are formed as a result of the impact of external circumstances. In this idea lay the basis of the whole theory of human perfectability—change the circumstances and you change the person. Godwin emphasizes that the "intellectual and moral qualities of the mind" are modified by environmental experiences;

> There is for the most part no essential difference between the child of the lord and of the porter. Provided he do not come into the world infected with

> any ruinous distemper, the child of the lord, if changed in the cradle, would scarcely find any greater difficulty than the other, in learning the trade of his foster father, and becoming a carrier of birthens. The muscles of those limbs which are most frequently called into play, are always observed to acquire peculiar flexibility or strength. It is not improbable that, if it should be found that the capacity of the skull of a wise man is greater than that of a fool, that this enlargement should be produced by the incessantly repeated action of the intellectual faculties . . .[27]

Godwin accepts that there are real differences between children at birth, but emphasizes that it is impression that makes the person and therefore concludes that "compared with the empire of impression, the mere differences of animal structure are inexpressibly unimportant and powerless."[28]

Godwin's words still carry a message;

> Speak the language of truth to your child, and be under no apprehension for the result. Show him that what you recommend is valuable and desirable, and fear not that he will desire it. Convince his understanding, and you enlist all his powers animal and intellectual in your service. How long has the genius of education been disheartened and unnerved by the pretence that man is born all that it is possible for him to become.[29]

The Radical Tradition in Education

Writers such as Paine and Godwin established the framework of a radical tradition in education in Britain.

Simon defines the radical tradition in education, as the tradition which saw education as a key aspect or component of radical social change.[30] Education was recognized as a crucial factor in two major struggles of the "working class." First, it played an important role in the attempts of workers to secure democracy and political emancipation; and second, it was important in their attempts to realize socialism and economic emancipation. Education, then, played its part in the support of agitation for economic and political change, and in the propagation of a vision of an egalitarian future society. Simon identifies three characteristics of the radical tradition in education, and these are briefly outlined below.

The first characteristic emphasizes the formative power of education. Such an emphasis was particularly apparent in, and fundamental to, the argument developed in Godwin's Political Justice. The formative power of education had been previously stressed during the Enlightenment by such writers as Helvetius. Drawing from Locke's philosophy and David Hartley's theory of associationism, which lent psychological support to the belief that mental characteristics are formulated as a result of the impact of external influences, the radical education tradition supported the Enlightenment notion of human perfectability.

The second characteristic of the radical tradition in education emphasized science and scientific education as the means to truth. Paine, for example, as a practising engineer, was particularly interested in science and its application. In The Age of Reason he argued that the Church had acted as a barrier to science and that, in an effort to protect its own ideology, it had persecuted knowledge. He argued that if humanity was to free itself, to realize and understand its place in the universe, then it must break with the mythology of the Church, which he saw acting as a fetter on human minds.

Paine's view is similar to the one forwarded by Francis Bacon in the early seventeenth century. In Novum Organum (1620)—"The New Instrument"—Bacon suggested the Creator in his "wisdom" and "benevolence" created a rational universe that required contemplation, investigation and exploitation. "The true goal of the sciences," wrote Bacon, "is none other than this: that human life be endowed with new discoveries and power."[31] He believed that science should form the basic matter of education and provide a means to enlightenment and understanding. Paine was not alone in this rediscovery of science for the same belief in the importance of science as the means of liberation was also evident in Richard Carlile's Address to Men of Science, and in the writings of William Thompson.

The third characteristic of the tradition was its emphasis on secular education. Such a focus, derived from the position on religious matters, emphasized the development of a secular morality through moral education. This third aspect of the tradition was to be most highly developed in the work of Robert Owen and William Lovett, and put into practice in the schools and institutions set up by the Owenite movement in the 1820s and 1830s.

In addition to those already mentioned above, a number of other voices were adamant in their condemnation of the monopoly of the dead languages, and insistent in their call for scientific education and a secular morality—these included; Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Day, the Edgeworths, Joseph

Priestly and Mary Wollstonecraft.

EARLY WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION MOVEMENTS

Self-Help and Self Improvement

Gibbon maintained that there were two educations; the first from other people, the second and more important, from oneself. The social philosophy of self-help provided the educational experience for many of the early working-class leaders. Because of the group of exceptional artisans that this tradition produced, it influenced the development of the working class out of all proportion to its size;

> They provided the only indigenous leadership for the people in religious, social reform, and political movements. At the same time they were a point of contact with middle-class ideals—a dual role which could prove a fruitful source of social advance, but which might equally create a dangerous ambiguity.[32]

Some of the artisans who became cultured men through their own efforts continued in their former roles such as "Smith the weaver-poet," while others turned to journalism, political reform and the Methodist ministry. The latter group included such names as William Cobbett, Samuel Bamford, William Lovett, and Thomas Cooper.

The Educational Experiences of Some Working-Class Leaders

The educational experiences of Joseph Barker will give some ideas of the lengths that were gone to to acquire an education. Joseph Barker was born (1806) in Bramley, Leeds, the son of a handloom weaver. Both his parents were fervent Methodists who believed in a simple doctrine of salvation and sudden conversion. Barker's father taught himself to read and write after his conversion, but was too poor to send his children to school. Barker learned to read at Sunday school and from all accounts read as much as he could.

At sixteen by which time he was working twelve to sixteen hours a day as a spinner, he began to learn Latin and Greek, together with a system of shorthand, mathematics, and history. Two people, a Methodist travelling preacher and a local schoolmaster who was a local Methodist preacher, helped him in these studies. He visited the former from 5:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. for lessons in English grammar, and the latter from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. for help with his Latin. Harrison describes his dedication;

> By propping up his book on his jenny gallows while working during the day he managed to snatch glances at it, while all the time exercising his mind upon his Latin lessons. He received no encouragement from his neighbours in Bramley and the local Methodists were openly sceptical of his studies. The motives which impelled Barker to this prodigious effort do not emerge very clearly from his writings. Undoubtably his Methodist environment was important (he became a local preacher, and then a travelling preacher for the Methodist new connexion); he did not develop social and political interests until later; and in the first instance he seems to have been actuated simply by a love of learning, a delight in books and study for their own sake.[33]

The records left by self-educated men in their journals and biographies reveal a pattern of working-class educational endeavour. In most cases the pattern was similar. Inadequate schooling, enough to appreciate the possibility of reading and writing but not to acquire the facility, followed by reading anything—however unsuitable—for the sake of practising reading, and finally a study of theology, mathematics and languages was the common pattern. Harrison comments:

> That in so many instances he should have successfully plunged straight into heavy classical works of philosophy, theology, science and political economy—and often studied them simultaneously—is some indication of the intellectual quality of a certain small section of the working classes in the nineteenth century. Equally important with intellectual ability was the moral stamina necessary to sustain the burden of home study amidst conditions of working-class life and labour.[34]

William Lovett, who was to become the leader of the London wing of the Chartist movement had a typically chequered schooling career. Lovett was born in 1800 at Newlyn, Cornwall. He was "sent to all the dame-schools in the town" before he was able to master the alphabet, and was eventually taught to read by his great-grandmother. He then went to a boy's school "to learn to write and cipher," thought at that time to be all the education required for poor people. At this first school it seems that he made little progress but, at a second school he "learned to write tolerably well, and to know a little arithmetic and the catechism, and this formed the extent of [his] scholastic acquirements."[35]

After his arrival in London in 1823, Lovett became accidentally acquainted with an association known as the "Liberals," "composed chiefly of working men," who met two evenings a week for "literary, political or metaphysical discussions." He found this setting intellectually stimulating;

> . . . my mind seemed to be awakened to a new mental existence, new feelings, hopes and aspirations sprang up within me, and every spare moment was devoted to the acquisition of some kind of useful knowledge.[36]

Thomas Cooper was born in Gainsborough in 1805 and later became the colourful leader of the Leicestershire Chartists. Cooper had a more regular schooling. He learned to read at the local dame-school run by "Old Gatty." Later he became a Bluecoat scholar in a charity school, where teaching was organized according to the monitorial system. He then attended a private school "chiefly patronised by tradesmen and better paid workmen," where he assisted in teaching the younger children and remained until he was fifteen.[37]

Richard Carlile learned the alphabet from the local schoolmistresses and attended the free school at Ashburton, where he learned writing, arithmetic and even a little Latin. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to a tin-smith for seven years.[38]

Richard Carlile, like Lovett and Cooper, began working at a time of economic crisis and political turmoil. Describing his own introduction to study, Carlile wrote;

> I shared the general distress of 1816 and it was this that opened my eyes. Having my attention drawn to politics I began by reading anything I could get at upon the subject with avidity, and I soon saw what was the importance of the free press . . . In the manufactories nothing was talked of but revolution, and I soon became so far fired as to begin to build castles in the air.[39]

Carlile began to write and opened a bookshop in London where he was later assisted by James Watson.

James Watson was taught to read by his mother, who he describes as a "poor but intelligent" Sunday school teacher. At the age of 12 he was apprenticed as a labourer in a clergyman's employ which, as he was to write later, "was not very favourable to mental development." But, in spite of this, he "could read well, write indifferently and had a very imperfect knowledge of arithmetic."[40]

On his arrival in Leeds in 1817, Watson found employment as a warehouseman. Here he associated with a group of radical reformers who read Woller's Black Dwarf, Carlile's Republican, and Cobbett's Register and "found a great many good things in these journal's."[41]

Mutual Improvement Societies

A natural extension of individual self-help was the mutual improvement society. Small groups would meet in each others' houses or in a hired room. These groups had simple rules, a programme of classes, and essay readings. Discussions were drawn up and a small library of books was often collected. These societies were primarily designed to promote proficiency in the three Rs, but they sometimes included geography, history, French, and chemistry. Instruction was usually given voluntarily by the workers themselves.

Information about these societies is scarce. They sprang up suddenly and disappeared just as quickly when they had fulfilled their educational purpose or exhausted their intellectual resources. They seldom left any records and knowledge of their existence has come from the comments of interested observers or from the experiences recorded in the autobiographies of labouring men. But the lack of information about them should not be allowed to detract from the significance of the mutual improvement societies in the development of a working-class educational movement. They arose because a group of working-class people saw them as contributing to a solution of problems important to them at the time—they were spontaneous and their spontaneity guaranteed their relevancy. Pedagogically the mutual improvement societies represented an intermediate stage between private study and organized instruction under an expert teacher.

Mutual improvement societies were often preferred to formal institutions as, in their original form, they represented the working man's own solution to his educational needs. The spontaneous formation of mutual improvement societies was often the sign of dissatisfaction with existing forms of adult education like Sunday schools and mechanics' institutes. Such dissatisfaction arose because the type of class and the method of instruction was alien to the ordinary working man; or because of the reluctance of those running these institutions to talk on topics of religion, economics or politics. The mutual improvement societies, then, in their original form, represented the working man's solution to his educational needs of the time. They were, perhaps, the most truly indigenous of all the early attempts at working-class education.

Characteristically, mutual improvement societies were concerned with;

1) A concentration on elementary subjects—especially the three Rs—in order to acquire and practice the skills of literacy;
2) An emphasis on discussion and debates;
3) A struggle to build a library; and
4) The weekly payments—1d or 2d—the usual subscription of a mechanics institute. Working men were prepared to pay for education so long as it was relevant to their needs.

When a mutual improvement society became large, prosperous and permanent it approximated a mechanics' institute. Many mechanics' institutes originated in this way.

The Corresponding Societies

The Corresponding Societies were the first typically working-class political organizations in England. Though Trade Clubs and Friendly Societies had existed before them, the Corresponding Societies became the first political organizations created by workers under their own leadership to represent working-class interests. The Corresponding Societies formed the working-class wing of the Radical movement of the time. Other societies such as the Society of the Friends of the People, and the Society for Constitutional Information were already in existence supporting the ideas of those who sympathized with the cause of the French Revolution, but their high annual subscriptions prevented artisans, small traders and labourers from becoming members.

Education was an important concern of all the Corresponding Societies. Through leaflets, pamphlets and correspondence the Societies set out to create a national movement for reform. One publication declared;

> Instruction is the want of all . . . the Society ought to favour with all its power the progress of human reason, and to place instruction within the reach of every citizen.[42]

Workers organized in these societies soon came to realize the importance of developing their own knowledge of the social and political scene, and the necessity of communicating this knowledge to other workers. The pragmatic concerns of educating fellow workers are well illustrated by one member who, on being asked to describe the objectives of the Corresponding Societies, answered;

> To enlighten the people, to show the people the reason, the ground for all their sufferings; when a man works hard for thirteen and fourteen hours of the day, the week through, and is not able to maintain his family; that is what I understand of it; to show the people the ground of this, why they were not able.[43]

The educational purposes and the political objectives of the Corresponding Societies were never far apart.

One of the first of these societies, the London Corresponding Society, was founded by Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, and held its first meeting in "The Bell," a tavern near the Strand. This meeting of "nine well meaning sober and industrious men" in January, 1792, was the beginning of the best known of the many Corresponding Societies that were founded in the next few years.[44] After six months the membership of the London Corresponding Society had grown from the original nine founder members to two-thousand. The Society had friendly relations with the Constitutional Society, and both Cartwright and Tooke helped it to develop. One of the three questions asked as a test for membership conveys the similarity of the Society's interests and that of the Radicals:

> Are you thoroughly persuaded that the welfare of these kingdoms require that every adult person, in possession of his reason, and not incapacitated by crimes should have a vote for a member of Parliament?[45]

The political programme of the London Corresponding Society consisted of the "Plan of Radical Reform," which included universal suffrage, annual parliaments and payments by members. Such reforms had previously been advocated by Major Cartwright in 1776 and were to appear again more than forty years later as "The Peoples Charter."

The membership of the Corresponding Societies was wide-ranging:

> At one end . . . the L.C.S. reached out to the coffee houses, taverns and dissenting churches of Picadilly, Fleet Street, and the Strand, where the self-educated journeyman might rub shoulders with the printer, the shopkeeper, the engraver, or the young attorney. At the other end, to the east, and south of the river, it touched those older working-class communities—the waterside workers of Wapping, the silkweavers of Spitalfields, the old dissenting stronghold of Southwark.[46]

Because of this heterogeneity some have argued that the Corresponding Societies were not really working-class movements but closer to middle-class radical organizations. It is evident that there were middle class among the membership of the Societies, but the strong contingent of working-class members is equally evident, and it is clear that the leading members regarded the Society as primarily working class. Of the Society's membership Binns writes;

> The great mass of the members were shopkeepers, artisans, mechanics and labourers. Few professional people or wealthy men could be counted among its members. Those among the wealthy who were friendly to parliamentary reform, associated with the Whig Club, the Friends of the Constitution etc.[47]

In the Corresponding Societies, then, the working class were organizing in a way that they had not done previously. Not only in membership, but also in objectives and action, the Corresponding Societies represented an organized, politically motivated group of the population who stood for working-class interests.

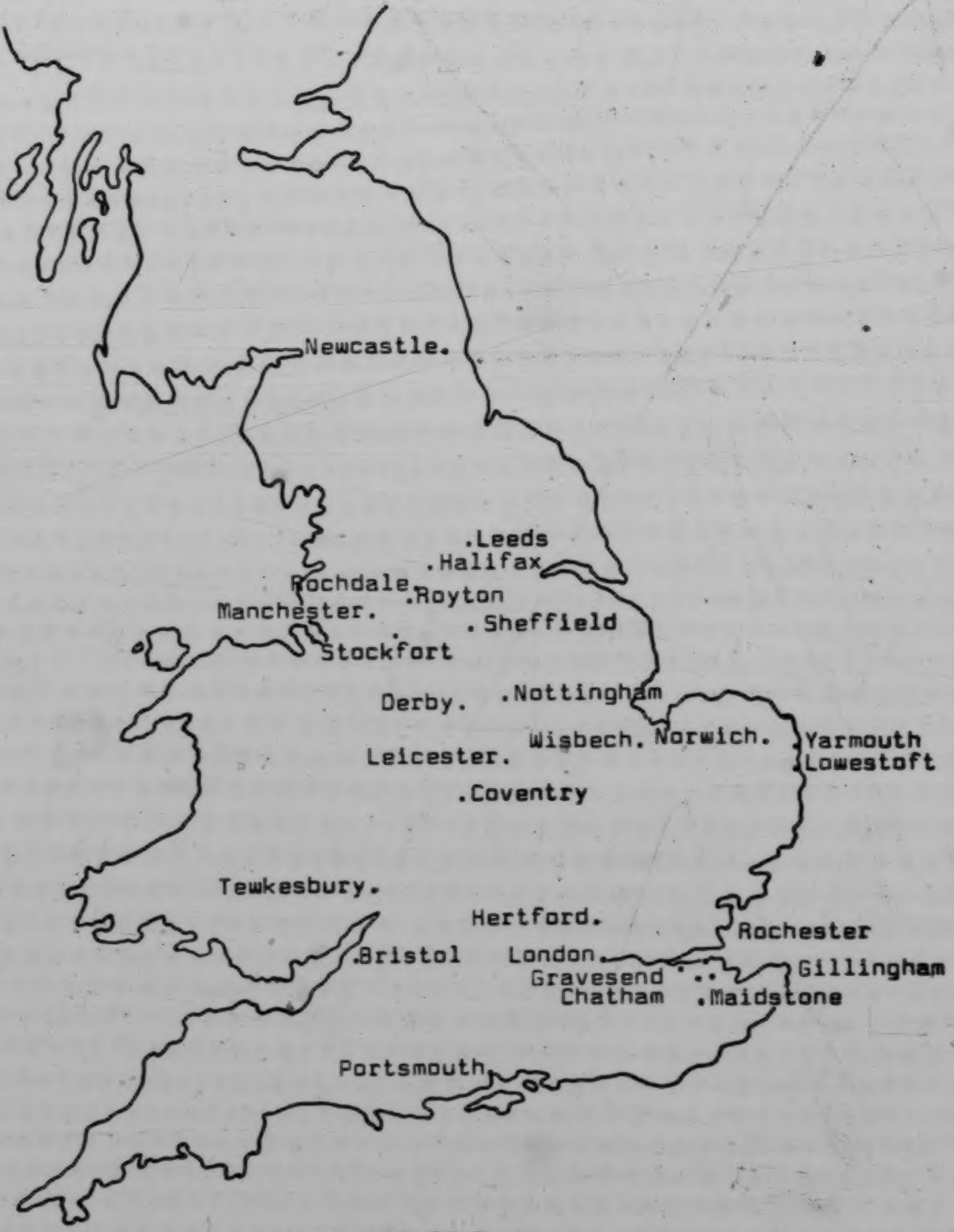
Silver[48] comments that one of the most important outcomes of the foundation of such organizations as the London Corresponding Society and the Sheffield Constitutional Society was an impetus for political self-education among adult, radical artisans. The London Corresponding Society practiced its intent to correspond with like-minded reformers everywhere and, in this way, while evading the law against national political organization, established a far-reaching political programme. A primary objective of the programme was the demand for a representative Parliament, but this was only the first step. As an address of the Society in 1794 explained, their objectives extended to seeing liberties restored, the press free, the laws simplified, judges unbiased, juries independent . . . the public better served, and the necessities of life more within the reach of the poor.[49]

In the pursuit of these ends, the Society organized itself in divisions each of which acted as "a recruiting, propaganda and political education machine."[50] The society at its peak recruited 200-300 members a week and, in October 1795, had more than seventy divisions. Its activities included discussions, readings, the spread of ideas, meetings and conventions, demonstrations, lectures, planting liberty trees, issuing handbills and addresses, circulating Paine's writings, and publicizing cheap editions.[51]

The weekly meetings were carefully organized;

> The chairman read from some book or part of a chapter, which as many as could read the chapter at their homes, the book passing from one to the other, had done, and at the next meeting a portion of the chapter was again read and the persons present were invited to make remarks thereon; as many as chose did so, but without rising. Then another portion was read and a second invitation was given when they who had not spoken before were expected to say something. Then there was a general discussion. No one was permitted to speak more than once during the reading. The same rule was observed in the general discussion, no one could speak a second time until everyone who chose to speak had spoken once, then anyone might speak again, and so on until the subject was exhausted.[52]

There were Corresponding Societies in many of the larger cities (see MAP FOUR). The Sheffield Society originated from a group of five or six mechanics dissatisfied with the high cost of living and the monopoly of the landowners. They complained about;


Newcastle.
.Leeds
.Halifax
Rochdale.
.Royton
Manchester.
.Sheffield
Stockfort
.Nottingham
Derby.
Wisbech.
Norwich.
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Leicester.
.Coventry
Tewkesbury.
Hertford.
Rochester
.Bristol
London.
Gravesend
Gillingham
Chatham
.Maidstone
Portsmouth

MAP FOUR

SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES[53]
(As listed by E. P. Thompson)

> . . . the enormous high price of provisions, the unbounded authority of the monopolists of all ranks . . . the waste of public property by placement, pensioners, luxury and debauchery, together with the mock representation of the people, [and] concluded that nothing but ignorance in the people could suffer the natural rights of every free man to thus be violated.[54]

The Sheffield Society is said to have numbered 2,000 "well behaved men, most of them of the lower sort of workmen." Apart from its regular meetings, the activities of the Society included the republishing of a cheap edition of Paine's Rights of Man, and the formation of branches in the neighbouring districts "in order to extend useful knowledge from town to village, and from village to town, until the whole nation be sufficiently enlightened."[55]

Not all Corresponding Societies originated from the cities. Samuel Bamford, a weaver in Middleton, Lancashire, describes the activities of "a small band of readers and enquirers after the truth" made up of "weavers, shoemakers, druggists and other Panites." They met at each others houses and read as many of the current publications as their funds would allow and discussed "the affairs of the nation and other political subjects." Corresponding Societies were in evidence throughout the country. Thompson lists Societies, and their locations are interesting. The location of the most active Corresponding Societies is in those centres where trade and industrial activities were the most developed. This is in keeping with the observation that the membership of the Corresponding Societies was primarily made up of tradesmen and artisans.

In the Corresponding Societies there were already certain features and characteristics that were to become typical of working-class organizations. These included;

1) The intermingling of economic and political themes—"the hardness of the times and parliamentary reform";
2) The appointment of a working man as secretary;
3) The low weekly subscription;
4) The function both as a social occasion and as a centre for educational and political activity;
5) The realistic attention to procedural formalities; and
6) The determination to propagate opinions and to organize the converted, apparent in the leading rule, "That the numbers of our members be unlimited."

The Political and Educational Significance of the Corresponding Societies. The formation and the rapid growth of the Corresponding Societies marked an important stage in history. It signified the end to any notion of the exclusiveness of politics. Politics was no longer to be the preserve of an hereditary elite or propertied group. The century-old identification of political rights with property rights was being challenged by a group of people who represented the interests of the rapidly growing working-class. The Radicalism of the days of "Wilkes and liberty," when the mob was called into spasmodic action by the Radical faction to support its position or alarm the authorities, was given way to a new organization of working people which would be controlled by working people.[56]

It was in the Corresponding Societies that the working class first organized for political purposes. In this same context working-class education began to develop;

> In the Corresponding Societies, for the first time, the working class was beginning to develop its own independent educational forms serving its own independent class interests.[57]

In the early years of the 1790s the members of the Corresponding Societies showed great interest in the events and ideas that had preceded and accompanied the French Revolution. Many of the Societies freely exchanged addresses with the revolutionary clubs in France or with the French Convention, urging the need for an alliance of the two countries on the basis of free institutions.

Artisans and labourers, who were already feeling the effects of rapid social and technological change and, in many cases, the hardships of worsening economic conditions, became interested in how they might shape their own future. Political activity coupled with readings and thorough discussions at Sunday "class" meetings in which each member participated in a carefully organized manner provided a new form of political education.

From the beginning the Corresponding Societies experienced strong opposition. Hardy, writing to a new Constitutional Society in Leeds in 1793, refers to some of these difficulties;

> We have been abused in the Senate, culminated in public, persecuted in private and worried out of public houses, yet we continue meeting numerously entire . . . and our doctrine makes numerous proselytes.[58]

The possible implications of this "doctrine" alarmed the Government. In 1792 there was a Royal Proclamation against seditious publication aimed particularly at Paine's Rights of Man.

Meanwhile, the events of the French Revolution followed each other rapidly: the Republic was proclaimed in 1792, Louis XVI was executed in the January of 1793 and, the following month, England and France were at war. The Revolutionary Tribunal was instituted in March, the Committee of Public Safety in April and, at the end of April, the moderate Girondins fell, and the Jacobin ascendency was assured. Soon the "Terror" was in full force.

These events had severe implications for Radicals in Britain. Paine, who had fled to France, was tried in absentia and outlawed in December, 1792, and booksellers were imprisoned for selling his works and other Radical literature. Daniel Eaton, the leading Radical publisher and bookseller and editor of Hog's Wash, was twice acquitted by London juries but, in the provinces many convictions were secured.

By 1793, spies had been posted in popular societies and the legal persecution of reformers had begun. These efforts by the Government to quel the Radical movement had two major effects. First, there was a tendency for the emphasis and tone of Paine's outspoken republicanism to become more mellowed, and a renewed emphasis was placed on restoring the "purity" of the Constitution. But the second effect was to bring about a marked radicalization of the societies. New centres of activity grew up in Scotland, Sheffield and Norwich. Two main themes were emphasized with growing insistence; namely, "economic grievances and social remedies, and the imitation of the French example, forms of organization and of address."[59] The Scottish Reformers called a Convention for the autumn of 1793, and three delegates from the London Corresponding Society attended the adjourned session held in November. A special Act in Ireland was passed to make such convention illegal and similar legislation was rumoured to be in the making in Britain.

A National Convention of British Reformers was called and it was the threat of this general combination of reformers, and of a possible alliance between English and Scottish Reformers and the United Irishmen, that spurred the Government to extreme measures to counter this political activity. The real "regime of repression" had begun.[60] In the face of this opposition the Scottish Convention met and passed a series of resolutions deciding that in the event of such legislation, or if the Habeas Corpus Act were suspended, or if an invasion took place, a further Convention on a national basis should be called.

The Government reacted predictably to this stand. The convention was dispersed and its principal leaders were arrested, tried and sentenced. After a "scandalous mock trial," Thomas Muir, the most gifted Scottish leader, William Skirving, the secretary of the Scottish Reform Movement, and Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald, two of the London delegates, were sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. At the same time the Rev. T. F. Palmer, an English Unitarian minister and Fellow of Queens College, was sentenced to seven years' transportation for "encouraging the reading of Paine, and membership of the Dundee Friends of Liberty—described as a society of Low weavers and mechanics."[61] The Scottish reform movement, apart from a futile and abortive insurrectionary plot planned by a handful of the delegates under the leadership of former Government spy, Robert Watt, had been effectively crushed.

Pitt now turned his attention to the English Radicals. In May, 1794, warrants were issued for the arrest of most of the leaders of both the Constitutional and Corresponding Societies. Horne Tooke and Thomas Hardy, together with the chief working-class leaders were gaoled. Both Houses of Parliament appointed "Committees of Secrecy" which, on the evidence submitted by the Government, claimed to detect a widespread, revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Crown by violence and subvert the rights of property.

In 1794 Hardy was arrested on a charge of high treason. A Committee of Secrecy of the House was appointed to examine Hardy's papers and Hardy himself was examined several times by the Privy Council. The Privy Council was determined to press the charge of high treason. But, although the Government went to great lengths to secure a conviction, Hardy was acquitted after a nine day trial to the great satisfaction of the London crowd who, in their enthusiasm, paraded him through the streets. The acquittal of the other members who had been arrested with Hardy, including Tooke and Thelwall, and the dismissal of the other cases followed.

London juries were known to be radically inclined and Reformers in other parts of the country were less fortunate. The acquittal of Thomas Walker in Manchester was the one exception.

The Government could not make their accusation of revolutionary conspiracy hold but, through their activities in this direction, they invoked emergency powers including the suspension of Habeas Corpus. The Radical societies had been deprived of many of their leaders and their activities began to diminish. Events in France alienated moderate opinion and, as the Revolution turned into military despotism, many Radicals as well as moderate Reformers ceased to look to France for inspiration.

The trials had a temporary effect of directing new interest in the Corresponding Societies and attracting new members. But this "victory" was short lived and the steady repression of the reformers or "Jacobins," as they were called, was continued.

At the close of the 1790s the Government legislated against the popular societies and, in so doing, emphasized the extent of the political significance attached to them. In this legislature there was also evidence of the educational role these societies had played;

> Whereas diverse places have of late been used for delivering lectures or discourses and of holding debates . . . which lectures, discourses and debates have in many circumstances been of a seditious or immoral nature . . . be it . . . enacted that any house, room, field or any other place, at or in which any lecture or discourse be publicly delivered, or any public debate shall be held on any subject whatever . . . to which any person shall be admitted by the payment of money, shall be deemed a disorderly house within the intent and meaning of the said Act . . . unless the same shall have been previously licensed in the manner hereinafter mentioned.[62]

Working-class Radicalism from this time on became an underground movement and it is necessary to look elsewhere to find sources of educational influence for the working class.

Simon comments;

> As a result of the activities of the corresponding societies a capable body of men from the rank and file of workers developed. These men were able to comprehend and master the most advanced social thinking of the time. By acting on this and communicating this knowledge they were able to lead the nascent working-class movement at both a local and a national level.[63]

Though the Act of 1799 effectively suppressed the educational activities of the corresponding societies, the experience was put to good use again in the organization of the clubs and associations which began to develop after 1815.[64]

SUMMARY

The Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Revolution (1789), and the effects of industrialization combined to reawaken political radicalism in Britain. Two broad categories of radicalism were evident—moderate reformists and constitutional reformists—which became associated with middle-class and working-class radicalism respectively. Political radicalism, especially working-class radicalism, was perceived as a threat to Church and State alike. In this political climate there emerged a radical tradition in education.

This chapter briefly describes the origins and development of radicalism, outlines some of the ideas of two leading ideologues of radicalism—Tom Paine and William Godwin, and discusses the significance of the radical tradition in education and its relation to working-class interests. Three early working-class education movements are then discussed—self-help and self-improvement, mutual improvement societies, and corresponding societies—and their significance considered.

NOTES

[1] J. B. Daly, *The Dawn of Radicalism*, 1892 in H. Silver, *English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850*, 1975, p. 2.

[2] J. Cartwright, *Take Your Choice!*, 1776 in H. Silver op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[3] G. D. H. Cole, *Socialist Thought—The Forerunners 1789-1850*, 1953, pp. 2-3.

[4] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 4.

[5] E. Halévy, *The Liberal Awakening 1815-1830*, 1949, pp. 68-9.

[6] Ibid., pp. 67-8.

[7] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 5.

[8] W. Morgan, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price*, 1815 in H. Silver, op. cit., p. 9.

[9] T. Paine, *Rights of Man* (1771-1), 1971, p. 140.

[10] Ibid., pp. 140-1.

[11] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 1972, p. 2.

[12] Ibid.

[13] G. D. H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement 1789-1937*, 1948, p. 20.

[14] T. Paine, op. cit., p. 73.

[15] Ibid., p. 90.

[16] T. Paine, *Letter Addressed to the Addressers* (1792) in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 1968, pp. 101-2.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 101-2.

[20] Paine expressed the ideas of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and draws his conclusions directly from this analysis. In so doing, Paine gave to English people, "a new rhetoric of radical egalitarianism, which touched the deepest responses of the 'free-born Englishmen' and which penetrated the sub-political attitudes of the urban working people" (Thompson, 1968, p. 103). The second part of Paine's Rights of Man, especially the "social chapter" effected a bridge between the older traditions of Whig "Commonwealthsman" and the radicalism of Sheffield cutlers, Norwich weavers and London artisans. Reform was related by these proposals, to their daily experience of economic hardship (Thompson, 1968, p. 102).

[21] R. D. Altick, The English Common Reader, 1957, pp. 70-2.

[22] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 11.

[23] Godwin's philosophical anarchism reached a working class public only after the Wars; and then mainly through Notes to Shelly's Queen Mab in Richard Carlile's pirated editions. See E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 107.

[24] W. Godwin, Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness (1793), in H. Silver op. cit., p. 15.

[25] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 15.

[26] W. Godwin, in H. Silver The Concept of Popular Education, 1965, p. 87.

[27] W. Godwin, in B. Simon, The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, 1972.

[28] Simon's comments on Godwin are worth noting; Godwin's attack on innate principles and on the theory of instincts as unalterable determinants of human behaviour may be paralleled by Locke's attack, over a century earlier, on the idea that man was born with certain innate ideas inscribed in his mind (see beginning of Essay on Human Understanding, 1690), and Joseph Priestly's critique, some twenty years earlier (in "An Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense," 1774) of the theory of instincts, which he described as a disservice to science since it implied that ultimate principles had been reached, so ckecking all further enquiry into the causes of human behaviour.

In bringing these issues together and restating this standpoint, Godwin was strictly in line with contemporary scientific knowledge as to the nature of human behaviour and the power of education in determining behaviour. Ultimately, given appropriate political circumstances and institutions, Godwin held that men's behaviour could be motivated by rational means alone—hence the possibility of human perfectability, or of man's capacity *continuously* to improve himself. The connection between this point of view and that put forward, for instance, by Owen, Thompson and Lovett is evident. (See Simon, 1972, pp. 11-12)

[29] W. Godwin, in H. Silver, op. cit., 1965, p. 88.

[30] B. Simon, op. cit., 1972, p. 9.

[31] F. Bacon, *Novum Organum* in E. A. Burtt, *The English Philosophers From Bacon to Mill*, 1939, pp. 24-123.

[32] J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960*, 1961, p. 44.

[33] Ibid., pp. 45-6.

[34] Ibid., p. 48.

[35] W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom* (1876), 1902, pp. 3-5.

[36] Ibid., pp. 34-5.

[37] T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper*, (1872), in B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 182.

[38] T. C. Campbell, *The Battle of the Press*, in Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 184.

[39] G. A. Aldred, *Richard Carlile* 1941 in B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 185.

[40] W. J. Linton, *James Watson* (1879), in B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 185.

[41] Ibid.

[42] N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, 1951, p. 178.

[43] P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, 1918, pp. 62-3.

[44] Of the London Corresponding Society Frances Place writes; "The Society assembled in divisions in various parts of the Metropolis. That to which I belonged was held as all others were, weekly, at a private house in New Street, Covent Garden. Each division elected a delegate and sub-delegate;

these formed a general committee, which also met once a week; in this committee the sub-delegate had a seat but could not vote while the delegate was present. I was soon elected delegate, and became a member of the general committee. In this Society I met with many inquisitive, clever, upright men, and among them I greatly enlarged my acquaintance. They were in most, if not all respects superior to any with whom I had hitherto been acquainted. We had book subscriptions, similar to the breeches clubs before mentioned; only the books for which any one subscribed were read by all the members in rotation who chose to read them, before they were finally consigned to the subscriber. We had Sunday evening parties at the residences of those who could accomodate a number of persons. At these meetings we had readings, conversations, and discussions. There was at this time a great many such parties; they were highly useful and agreeable (G. Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place*, 1918, p. 22).

[45] Cited in E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 19.

[46] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 23.

[47] J. Binns, *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, 1854.

[48] H. Silver, op. cit., p. 12.

[49] J. West, *A History of the Chartist Movement*, 1920, p. 22.

[50] H. Silver, op. cit., 1975, p. 12.

[51] S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism 1786-1832*, 1955, pp. 55-6.

[52] R. K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader*, 1955, pp. 36-7.

[53] As listed in the index of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, 1968.

[54] *Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting Seditious Practices, Parliamentary History of England*, vol. XXXI, 1818 in B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 180.

[55] *Parliamentary History of England* in B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 182.

[56] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 24.

[57] B. Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870*, 1974, p. 70.

[58] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 132.

[59] Ibid., p. 134.

[60] G. D. H. Cole, op. cit., 1948, p. 30.

[61] E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 136.

[62] F. Podmore, Robert Owen, 1906, pp. 522-3.

[63] B. Simon, op. cit., 1974, p. 181.

[64] The story of the Corresponding Societies and the links between the English, Irish, and Scottish Radicals is more complex than it has been possible to show here. A short account of these societies and their interrelations can be found in E.P. Thompson, op, cit., pp. 111-203.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WORKING CLASS EDUCATION 1815-1832

PROTEST, REPRESSION AND THE SILENT INSURRECTION

> It would be better for men to be deprived of education than to receive it from their masters; for education, in that sense, is no better than the training of the cattle that are broken to the yoke.
>
> Thomas Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital* (1825), 1963, p. 10.

INTRODUCTION

The Corresponding Societies, though they lingered on until they were suppressed in 1799, did nothing noteworthy after 1794;

> After 1794 the centre of Radical interest shifted to Ireland, where the United Irishmen were growing stronger and eagerly invoking French help. The naval mutiny at the Nore in 1797, which roused the Government to fresh measures of repression, was almost certainly led largely by impressed Irish sailors, under the influence of the United Irishmen. In the following year came the "Ninety-Eight," the abortive rising in the north, and the landing of the small French force in Ireland. When this movement had been easily suppressed, the French Revolution had exhausted its direct influence in these islands. Robert Emmet's abortive rising in Dublin in 1803 was but a final flicker.[1]

The mutinies at the Nore and at Spithead arose as a result of economic grievances and were mostly a result of Irish influence, but the remaining Radical groups in Britain were implicated. John Binns was involved in the attempt to procure French help for the rising of 1798, and he and his brother attempted to organize a Society of United Englishmen on the Irish model. The Government seized on these events to institute new measures of repression. The Corresponding Societies Act of 1799 made national associations with branches and corresponding relations illegal.

In the same year, and again in 1800, general Combination Acts were passed, and all forms of Trade Unionism suppressed by law. Pitt's system of repression was extended from the political bodies like the Corresponding Societies to all forms of working-class industrial organization. The

Combination Acts applied to masters as well as workers but the Acts were used, and were meant, particularly for the suppression of working-class movements.

To the extent that no stable working-class combinations arose in factory or mining districts, and strikes and riots were kept to the scale of purely localized movements, the Combination Acts accomplished what they were designed to do until about 1808. In 1808 the Minimum Wage Bill was overwhelmingly defeated in the House of Commons;

> Parliament had not yet quite reached the point of formally proclaiming its laissez faire doctrine, and repudiating all attempts to interfere with freedom of contract between employers and workers. But it was moving rapidly towards that conclusion.[2]

The rejection of the Minimum Wage Bill demonstrated to the cotton workers that they could no longer expect help from the State. This realization provoked the first large-scale industrial movement in the new factory districts. The strike of both cotton and woollen weavers in Lancashire resulted in a temporary victory and a temporary stabilization of wages. The Combination Laws were not used against the strikers on this occasion. In the ensuing years there was increasing discontent among the industrial workers, which was apparent in the growing number of strikes and the action of the Luddites. The machine breaking carried out by the Luddites spread from the Midlands to Lancashire and Yorkshire, and caused great alarm. Parliament appointed secret committees and rushed through new repressive measures, which prepared the way for the more far-reaching repression of the years following the

Peace of 1815. But the worsening conditions, as well as prompting Parliamentary action, also prompted activity among the Radicals;

> As conditions grew worse, a powerful movement in favour of Peace developed among the workers. Peace and Reform became popular cries. Cobbett, Henry Hunt, and other Radical leaders gained an ever-growing body of supporters. Many employers, too, were for Peace and Reform; for they saw in Peace the prospect of lower taxes and the expansion of trade, and in the Reform the means of securing for their own class a controlling influence in the State.[3]

The war with France led to economic hardship. Though at first, after war had been declared, trade continued to expand, the effects of the war soon checked production and severely limited trade. The war of blockade between Britain and Napoleon, waged by means of the Berlin Decrees and the Orders in Council (1806-1807) seriously dislocated British trade with Europe, and the war between Britain and America (1812-1814) affected both the markets for finished goods and the supply of materials for cotton factories of the north. The war period (1793-1815) resulted in great losses of wealth and accompanying fluctuations of employment. The effects of these events was to force down the working class standards of living to an all time low. Cole, in a similar style to that of the Hammonds, graphically describes the plight of many industrial workers in those days of uncertainty;

> Driven from the land by the enclosures, made redundant or exposed to the competition of child-labour by new machines, exposed to relentless persecution because of the fears engendered in the minds of the governing classes both by their misery and by the "awful portend" of the Revolution in France, and enwalled in the hideous, stinking perlieus of the new factory towns, the workers underwent a long agony, from which they emerged at

> length, exhausted and docile, into the Victorian era. In this age of misery, and as the child of this misery, the British Labour Movement was born.[4]

CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND AFTER 1815

Prosperity in England had risen steadily from 1811 as Napoleon's continental blockade broke up. The return of peace in 1815 was accompanied by a misleading post-war boom, which reached its climax in 1818 as cotton goods, hardware, and cutlery, bar and pig iron were rushed to starved markets. For thirty years England's economy had been expanding; industrial, agricultural and commercial output had increased, but in 1819 the market collapsed;

> The sudden dampening of the flood of government spending, along with the rigorous reduction of the volume of money and credit in order to resume cash payments in gold at the pre-war parity, reversed the upward trend of prices and brought to a sudden halt the expansion of new capacity that had been virtually continuous since 1782.[5]

There was even doubt as to whether the principle of uncontrolled private initiative, on the basis of which the expansion had begun, and which had sustained it in its response to the government's needs throughout the war, could respond to the challenge of faltering growth.

Bad weather conditions during the period 1811-1813 had partially masked the new productive potential of enclosures, new investment and new methods, but a series of good harvests coincided with the termination of war scarcity and a general fall in prices to shrink farm incomes. Farmers, encumbered with heavy debts and long leases at inflated rents, were caught between fixed costs and falling prices. In these circumstances investors were reluctant to take any initiative for, by this time, industry had developed to a point at which it was highly sensitive to fluctuations in demand. Local poor rates rose steeply as men from the war returned home and often failed to find employment; and the tax burden was made worse by the price collapse. These conditions, not surprisingly, produced labour unrest. The insecurity of those with employment together with the frustration of the unemployed combined to produce a most unstable economic, political, and social climate. The government relied on the notorious Six Acts of 1819 to contain the social and political unrest, while the "system of natural liberty" was allowed to continue in the economic realm.

Early in the twenties there was new expansion; in capital formation, the development of new skills, and the product of total output there were great increases. However, this boom was short-lived[6] and it is doubtful whether the majority of workers experienced any significant material advance during this period. They gained little in wages and suffered much in the poor conditions of the urban centres.

The political structure of England, which as we have seen was basically oligarchical in composition, did little to relieve the uncertainty that the economy created. The distribution of power, which placed the reigns of control clearly in the hands of the landed aristocracy, was outdated. Though there had been agitation for more representative government well before the French Revolution from both Radicals and dissatisfied members of the professional and trading groups, the war against France had enabled the quelling of such disturbing claims in the name of the national interest. "In 1815 the old political system still stood intact."[7] But, within this archaic system, the industrialists had learned how to organize and wield effective lobbies for, in the years of the war, even the most ardent traditionalists had come to recognize that the future of Britain was increasingly dependent upon industrial efficiency.

In such circumstances political struggle was inevitable, but it was a struggle that had to be contained within carefully controlled boundaries;

> In order that the increasingly precarious economy should not break down . . . the political struggle had to be conducted in such a way that the new ideas of equity and responsibility were reconciled with the conditions of continuous economic growth.[8]

The struggle had two foci. First, there was government in the traditional sense at Westminster, where the general rules of economic and political behaviour were set. The middle class were preparing to make their challenge on government in order to effect legislation that would provide conditions of industrial and commercial growth even if such conditions conflicted with agriculture. There was also the struggle over the distribution of the product between capital and labour, but this second focus of the struggle had no formal independent existence in the early nineteenth century. The Common Law doctrine of restraint of trade, and the statuses of 1799 and 1800 meant that the right of the worker to organize was regulated by Parliament. Both middle-class and working-class concerns were under the control of an archaic legislature.[9] As they gained power, the new industrialists became increasingly in favour of the restrictive measures enforced against labour by the courts. In these circumstances, the workers had two ways of attempting to change the situation;

> They could do so either by a political challenge, aiming at power in Parliament, or by an individual one, seeking to organize in unions to such effect as to alter the behaviour of the legislature, and perhaps, indeed, to cause revolution or eclipse. Both courses involved the immensely difficult problem of finding political leadership.[10]

AGITATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

After the Napoleonic wars new political organizations began to develop. In the north, the agitation for Parliamentary reform during the period 1816-17 resulted in the formation of the Hampden Clubs, initially inspired by Major Cartwright. Like the Corresponding Societies, these clubs arranged their activities in such a way that organized class discussion was accompanied by political activity. They also resembled the Corresponding Societies in making inexpensive editions of the more important radical literature available to all those who were interested.

A close link between education and political action is particularly evident in the later development of the Lancashire democratic movement. After the failure of the

Blanketeer's march (1817) the Lancashire leaders concentrated on setting up secular Sunday schools for political education. Following the critique that had been established by Paine and Godwin, the working-class and democratic reformers saw the Church as a fundamental obstacle to political reform, and its ideological influences as the most important means of preventing popular political action. In an attempt to break this ideological hegemony, the reformers attempted to replace religious indoctrination with a rational education in the schools and reading rooms they established as part of the Union movement for Parliamentary reform from 1817 onwards. The reformers, like the philosophers of the Enlightenment, argued that experience shows education to be all-powerful in the formation of opinions and, in the words of a Lancashire magistrate's spy;

> That one of the chiefest evils under which the Nations of Europe laboured was that of suffering the children to be educated and instructed in the doctrine of a Religion which was so ambiguous, doubtful and contradictory, that it almost always cramped their understandings and baffled their judgements:—whereas on the contrary, if they were instructed in the principle of Government, and the right use of reason, they would be enabled to know their own worth in Society—to distinguish between right and wrong—to know the real object of worship—and what value to set upon the ceremonial and idolatrous worship of the Christians. —That it would be impossible for any King or Government to tyrannize over a people educated in such a manner and that if every other effort to reform the State and banish superstition failed, this of education would effect it. For . . . only conceive that if schools were to be established to the extent of the Methodists what would be the consequence? Why the soldiers and the sailors and almost all constables and lower officers in the Nation would be educated in this manner, and then what chance would either Government or priesthood have of tyrannizing over them. Corruption and all its attendant evils would be banished from such a society. That it was

> the duty of every good man to attend to the right directing of young minds as the welfare of the next generation depended on it.[11]

As Simon indicates, in this statement about reformer's ideas on education a year before James Mill's famous statement on education in Encyclopaedia Britannica, is a clear demand for rational, secular education for all as the necessary foundation for good government.

Schools established by the reformers often opened in the evenings, as well as Sundays, for children and adults alike. Adults would come to read the news, or hear others read it, from opposition and radical pamphlets and newspapers brought by subscription.

The democratic movement was evident throughout the North-east, Yorkshire and the Midlands. In 1818 the Political Protestant Unions for Parliamentary Reform—the radical organization of the north-east—were organized into classes of twenty, each class meeting once a week and each member subscribing a penny for the purpose of purchasing papers and books. The importance attached to political education is evident in their statement; "Political ignorance has been the cause of all our national misery and degradation." And T. J. Wooler, in the Black Dwarf, supports them commending the members of the Society of Political Protestants at York on their;

> . . . desire for political information . . . the means you have adopted are some of the most efficient. Nothing can be accomplished but by Union. . . . Men must meet each other, unite their knowledge and their powers, compare their sentiments, weigh together the

> force of opposite statements, and draw the pure gold of truth from the dross of the inferior ore with which it is generally combined.[12]

In a similar vein the Hull Political Protestants report in a letter;

> We have formed ourselves into an institution of political protestants, which we most earnestly recommend to be adopted in every town and village in the nation. We divide ourselves into classes of twenty each, and each class meets once a week, and reads Cobbett, and Sherwin's Register, Wooler's Black Dwarf, and other works, calculated to diffuse political knowledge; the leaders of each class hold a meeting on the first Monday of each month, to report the progress of the institution to the Chairman.[13]

Likewise in Tyneside it was reported in 1819 that "the majority of the workers on both rivers are formed into classes of twenty, with a leader to each class."[14]

After the decline of the Hampden Clubs the Lancashire Union Societies followed a similar pattern. For example, the Stockport Union Society held weekly class meetings which, according to its rules, were conducted to ensure that every member would be adequately trained "to promote by all just means in his power, a radical reform of Parliament, by means of suffrage in all male persons of mature age and sane minds, . . . of Parliaments having a duration not exceeding one year, and of elections by ballot."[15]

As with the earlier reform societies, education was an implicit concern of the Union Societies, and many acquired their own reading rooms and started schools for both children and adults. Wearmouth has described the class meetings of this period as;

> . . . schools of education in affairs . . . whether judged in regard to organization, education, finance, or all three, the meetings of the weekly classes were of very high importance in the techniques, development, expression and direction of working-class agitation.[16]

Basic to the whole movement for reform was the conviction that if the working class could gain an understanding of the political and economic functioning of society, and come to a realization of their own rights and duties, they would have the strength to enforce their demands.

THE RADICAL PRESS

Members of working-class radical movements at the time were keenly aware of the value and power of knowledge—the motto of the Co-operator reads;

> Knowledge and union are power:
> Power directed by knowledge is happiness:
> Happiness is the end of creation.[17]

They were also aware of the restrictions brought about through a lack of knowledge;

> We are born ignorant—brought up ignorant—we live and die ignorant. We are like men groping in thick darkness.[18]

Some perceived that this ignorance was not accidental; "Ignorance is calculated to give stability to corrupt and unjust governments."[19] Perhaps Cobbett was the most explicit on this matter. He argued that the Tories would deny the people education as far as possible, and that the middle class would offer working men and their children an education which would, "fashion the minds of the people to passive obedience and submission, be their wrongs or sufferings what they may." Cobbett's polemic continues to lambast schools as seminaries of slavery, school teachers as government spies, and the tracts of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge as gingerbread dolls to stop the poor from asking awkward questions.[20] Where, then, were the working class to obtain knowledge? One source of knowledge which remained uninfluenced by bourgeois ideology was the radical press.

Newspaper circulation had increased steadily throughout the eighteenth century, and by 1780, the annual sale of newspaper stamps (14,100,000) was almost double what it had been in 1753. At the time of the declaration of war with France (1793) the number of stamps issued yearly had risen to 17,000,000. Though many newspapers were being issued, they were common only in the larger towns and the stamp duty priced them beyond the reach of all but the richer members of society.

At such high prices workers could rarely obtain newspapers, and it was to ensure that the working class could gain a full understanding of their society, both in political and economic terms, and of their own rights and duties that such people as Cobbett, Wooler, Hone, Carlile, Watson and many others led a militant struggle for the freedom of the press. Working-class movements recognized the educational importance of the radical press—it was an important disseminator of knowledge and ideas relevant to working-class interests.

The emergence of an independent radical press after the wars was, to a great extent, a personal triumph of Cobbett's.[21] In 1816, Cobbett reduced the price of his *Political Register* from 1s0½d to 2d, excluding news to evade stamp tax. The first number of "two-penny trash," as it was dubbed in Parliament, sold 44,000 copies within a month.[22] The popularity of these journals alarmed the government and led Sidmouth to describe them as "the worst description of poison." Of his achievement Cobbett writes;

> Many years ago . . . I set out as a sort of *self-dependent* politician. My opinions were my own. I dashed at all my prejudices. I scorned to follow any body in matters of opinion. Before my time, every writer of talent enlisted himself under the banners of one party, or one minister, or other. I stood free from all such connexions. . . . So that, for many years, I have been an object of hatred with men in power, with men aiming at power . . .[23]

So working-class newspapers had been well-established since 1816. Cobbett's "Twopenny Trash" or *Register*, Carlile's *Republican*, Wooler's *Black Dwarf*, and Wade's *Gorgon* were dedicated to the "ragged Radicals" and set out to inform the working class of the wrongs done to them by excessive taxation, the products of which went to pensioners, priests, warmongers, and Boroughmongers.[24]

In 1817 Habeas Corpus was suspended and, in the same year, Cobbett fled to America, Hone and Wooler were tried for blasphemous and deflamatory libel, and Carlile was gaoled for selling *Parodies on the Book of Common Prayer*. Carlile was again sentenced in 1819 to six years for selling Paine's *Age of Reason* and Palmer's *Principles of Nature*.

In 1819 the Six Acts were introduced one of which was specifically directed against;

> . . . pamphlets and printed papers containing observations on public events and occurrences, tending to excite hatred and contempt of the Government and Constitution of these realms as by law established, and also vilifying our holy religion.[25]

In the course of this struggle for the freedom of the press editors, printers and publishers, as well as hundreds of sellers of unstamped publications were gaoled. But the publications continued to appear and play an important role in the development of the working-class consciousness. Simon comments;

> The production and sale of cheap journals and books, organised study in class meetings, these—always coupled with active political campaigning—formed the core of educational efforts in the years from 1816 to 1823. Not only had self education become an integral aspect of working-class political activity, the chief means whereby local leaders emerged from the ranks of the workers but also there was a new departure. Efforts were made to educate children with the clear purpose of bringing up the coming generation with a new set of moral values as the harbingers of a new society.[26]

MECHANICS' INSTITUTES

The most impressive of all the adult education ventures of the early nineteenth century, both in terms of attendance and educational achievement, yet the most disappointing in their development in relation to working-class interests, were the mechanics' institutes. As their name implies they were intended for working men, but they were rarely under the control of workers. Tylecote identifies three major influences in the formation of the mechanics' institutes; educational, industrial, and social.[27] There were those like Brougham who saw the circumstances of industrial life as a unique opportunity for education to be encouraged, both for the enlightenment of the worker and for the technical advance of industry. Industrialists, having seen the advances recently made in various branches of science, recognized the importance of maintaining an association between theory and practice. Others who saw science as a threat to social and religious orthodoxy, were alarmed at the concentration of workers in industrial towns, and feared the prospect of large-scale agitation; they attempted to control a process they could not prohibit. As a result of these various interests, the history of the mechanics' institutes is one of "contrary circumstances"; the history of a movement which was founded on radical assumptions yet one which existed with much conservative support.

The mechanics' institutes began to make their appearance about 1824; a time when trade conditions were improving, and social and economic disturbances were less acute. It was also at about this time that a group of influential men became aware of the successes of recent experiments in the education of working men.

Industrialization had linked science and industry and from this co-operation there developed a new social category—the mechanic. Until the end of the Napoleonic wars the concentration of mechanized industry in particular areas did not take place to any considerable extent, however, and mechanics remained few in number. Consequently, the earliest societies from which the mechanics' institutes developed were local both in character and influence. One of these, the Spitalfields Mathematical Society, was a group of artisans who met on Saturday evenings as early as 1717. They worked at basic mathematics on slates and later, when apparatus had been obtained, members were required to deliver lectures and perform experiments. An important part of the Society's activities was the formation of a library which formed a central focus of the members' scientific and recreational interests. But the Society did not survive as a workers' organization and, by the time the mechanics' institutes were developing as a national phenomena, the Spitalfields Society had taken on a middle-class character.

Dr. George Birkbeck, generally acknowledged to be the founder of the mechanics' institutes, was educated in science and medicine at London and Edinburgh and appointed as professor of chemistry and natural philosophy at the Andersonian Institution at Glasgow in 1799. In the course of his work he had to have apparatus made which could not be purchased in the town. Birkbeck would often visit workshops and explain how he wanted a particular apparatus made. In the course of these visits he was interested to see the curiosity of the workmen in the apparatus and their operation, and decided to offer a course of lectures for those interested. Birkbeck's motives, then, appear to have been more to do with a sympathetic understanding of the worker's need for education than of any motive related to the interests of science and industry, or the maintenance of the social order.

The directors of the Andersonian Institution did not encourage Birkbeck to introduce lectures for artisans and workmen. In fact, on the contrary, they warned;

> . . . that if invited the mechanics would not come; that if they did come they would not listen; and that if they did listen they would not comprehend.[28]

But, in spite of this scepticism, Birkbeck gave a course of lectures to mechanics in the autumn of 1800 and the directors were proven wrong when 75 attended the first lecture and were reported to be exceedingly attentive, interested, and well behaved. By the fourth lecture the audience had grown to 500. The success of these lectures which were maintained regularly by Birkbeck until he left Glasgow in 1804, and subsequently by his successor Dr. Ure, provided the inspiration for the general movement. But, apart from a number of small independent experiments, there was little attempt to repeat Birkbeck's example for another twenty years.

Leonard Horner founded the Edinburgh School of Arts (1821) as an experiment suggested to him by the mechanics' class at the Andersonian Institution. Horner had close associations with a group of prominent intellectuals and politicians who brought the movement patronage and publicity, and who were to become the movement's most conspicuous supporters. Because of this kind of support the programme of the mechanics' institutes was to be outlined and defended in the pages of the Edinburgh Review. This support and publicity marked a decisive step towards the opening of the campaign in favour of the development of mechanics' institutes throughout the United Kingdom. The directorate of the School was chosen exclusively from among these patrons, a point which Brougham criticized from the beginning.[29]

The Edinburgh School of Arts set out to provide instruction in the sciences in relation to their application to the arts. The School proved to be popular and within a month of the commencement of lectures in October, 1821, there were over 450 students enrolled. Not only was it popular but it also established a reputation as being a highly efficient teaching institution, and it was on these grounds that Horner defended his "despotic" system.

Important developments were also in progress at Glasgow. In 1821, following the withdrawal of working men from the mechanics' class at the Andersonian Institution, an independent Glasgow Mechanics' Institution was formed, of which Birkbeck consented to become the patron. The Institution also received an offer of support and information from Leonard Horner. In contrast to the organization of the Edinburgh School of Arts, the members of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution resolved to support themselves and seek no aid from the wealthy and influential men of the town. Instead their property was to be vested in themselves and their policy to be under their own control. While this example of independence and self-government—in direct contrast to the system maintained at Edinburgh—proved to be the most popular model of the two, the policy of complete financial independence subsequently broke down, and was never generally advocated by later propagandists.

In August 1823 the first issue of the Mechanics' Magazine was published which aimed at popularizing science for the benefit of mechanics, and communicating information among them of new inventions, methods and processes. In October of the same year the editors of the magazine appealed to the mechanics of London to establish an institution for their improvement in science, art and manufactures referring to the institutions already founded in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The editors, J. C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin, had both come to London from Edinburgh.

Roberts and Hodgskin wished to form a mechanics' institution under workers' control which, as well as providing education in science, art, and manufactures, would provide an opportunity to gain an understanding of politics and economics. Their conviction to form the Institution came from the encouragement they received from an already established meeting of radicals, including Gale Jones, who met three evenings each week at Lunn's Coffee House, Clerkenwell. In response to their editorial Roberts and Hodgskin received letters from Birkbeck, Frances Place, a number of workmen, master mechanics and tradesmen, and the group of radicals already meeting at Lunn's. On becoming involved;

> Place quickly explained to Hodgskin and Robertson the impossibility of founding a stable institution simply on the subscription of working men; he overcame their

> opposition and obtained their consent to opening a subscription list along with all the notable members of the radical group.[30]

Place became very involved with the establishment of the institution and raised considerable funds for its development. The workers, recognizing the dangers of patronage and dependence on the middle class passed a resolution opposing any request for donations to the building fund; but they were "outmaneuvered and outfinanced";

> Hodgskin and Robertson, the last of whom had remained on the worker's side and fought actively for independence, were not re-elected as secretaries in December, 1823, when the Institute was finally established.[31]

Instead, a paid official was appointed, "and the Institute of which they were the true originators slipped from their control."[32]

A public meeting presided over by Dr. Birkbeck, was held in November to discuss the formation of the Institution. A subscription list was opened, rules were prepared, and the London Mechanics' Institute was formally established in February 1824 with a preliminary list of members numbering about 1,300. In keeping with the basic objectives of the institution—"the instruction of the members in the Arts they practise, and in other branches of scientific and useful Knowledge"—lectures in mechanics, chemistry, geometry, hydrostatics, astronomy, electricity, and the application of chemistry to the arts were given in the first year. There was also a course in the French language and, in the following year, evening classes in mathematics, drawing, and architecture were added to the programme.[33]

What Robertson and Hodgskin had envisaged as an educational institution for workers organized and directed by workers became the philanthropic gesture of Radicals, industrialists and Whig politicians to the politically vocal working class.[34] Many mechanics' institutes were controlled by the "moneyed classes" and became "the props of orthodoxy and respectability instead of working-class organisations."[35]

The foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute was the beginning of a national movement. This example, combined with effective public and private propaganda carried out largely by Brougham, led to activity throughout the country and to the foundation of numerous mechanics' institutes. While it would be inaccurate to regard the mechanics' institute movement as a working-class organization, some institutes had workers on their organizing committees, and the general influence of the movement was to introduce education for the working class as an acceptable development. In this sense, the very idea of mechanics' institutes was a radical departure.

The preliminary advertisement of the London Mechanics' Institute read, "it is only because so many are ignorant that so many are poor and miserable."[36] Similarly, an address delivered to the New Mechanics' Institute in Manchester read;

> Man is neither born wise nor good; his wisdom and goodness are the results of education; and differences of character which exist in the extremes of society, in what are called civilised countries, arise not from natural incapacity on the one hand, or inherent superi-

> ority on the other, but from controlling circumstances in both.[37]

The monitorial schools of Bell and Lancaster and the Sunday Schools had, to some extent, prepared the way for the mechanics' institutes. The provision of education for children led to a consideration of educational facilities for adults. Though Sunday schools sometimes included adults in their programme, they came nowhere near meeting even the generally recognized needs of the time. There was an agitation for the institution of a system of secular education for children and for an independent attempt to deal with the problem created by increasing numbers of adults who, having learned to read the Bible, were interested to read more and turn their attention to other subjects. The gathering momentum of the general education movement, then, was a necessary preliminary to the development of the mechanics' institutes.

The mechanics' institutes derived their distinctive character from the development of scientific studies and the new dependence of industry on science. Timothy Claxton, himself a mechanic, looked forward to a time when every workshop in the country would be filled;

> . . . with experimenters, and especially men who, from reading and thinking, shall have learned how experimenting shall be done to advantage. If such were the case . . . who can doubt that an incredible multitude and variety of inventions and improvements would spring up in every direction.[38]

While Thomas Hodgskin may have failed to achieve what he set out to accomplish in the mechanics' institutes, through his books, lecturing, and personal influence among the circles of London working men, he had an important influence on the development of working-class ideas and organization. Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital (1825) was one of the first books to challenge the political economy of the middle class from the standpoint of the working class.

In the book Hodgskin revived Ricardo's analysis of the contradiction between the interests of land and capital on the one hand, and labour on the other, and took it a stage further. He showed that the Utilitarians, in attempting to show the similarity of capitalists' and workers' interests, had vulgarized Ricardo's theory to present the prospect of a united advance to continuous and indefinite progress. Hodgskin submitted aspects of Ricardo's analysis to a radical criticism, and restated the economic grounds for a fundamental divergence of interests between labour and capital. He went on to advance a serious argument for the claim of labour to the full value of its product. The lectures Hodgskin delivered followed a similar pattern.

In 1823 Hodgskin joined with a Scot named Robertson in forming the Mechanics' Magazine, and in it, as we have seen, he at once began to work for the foundation of a Mechanics' Institute, where working men could;

> learn all that is really indispensable for a worker to know in chemistry, in mechanics, and in the science of the production and distribution of wealth.39

Cole suggests that Hodgskin's appeal in support of the proposed London Institute entitled him to be regarded as the pioneer of the idea of independent working-class education. Hodgskin emphasized that workers would not get the education that they needed until they provided it for themselves and under their own control. In his own words;

> It would be better for men to be deprived of education than to receive it from their masters; for education, in that sense, is no better than the training of the cattle that are broken to the yoke . . .[40]

Together with Thompson, Hodgskin was the first to clearly formulate the working-class criticism and inversion of the Ricardian economic system.[41] Though they differed in the approaches they advocated (Thompson was a Co-operative Socialist of the Owenite school, and Hodgskin was a philosophical anarchist following the Godwin tradition) their deductions from Ricardian assumptions are essentially the same. They argued that if it is admitted that labour is the source of all value, then clearly all value belongs to the labourer, who should receive the product of his own work. Paraphrasing the main point of Hodgskin's discussion, Cole writes;

> To describe capital as "accumulated labour" is no justification of the absorption of surplus value by the capitalists; for the capitalist produces nothing unless labour is applied to it, or it to labour, and the capitalist, as such, performs no service in making it productive. If he works by hand or brain he is entitled, like any other labourer, to his product; but the mere possession of capital confers no title to a share in the labourer's product.[42]

ROBERT OWEN, OWENISM, AND EDUCATION

Robert Owen has been dubbed as "the archetype of the benevolent entrepreneur."[43] But he was also, among other things, responsible for a series of educational principles and innovations that were well ahead of their time.

Owen's principles of education are inseparable from the developments he introduced at New Lanark. In 1800 Robert Owen became partner-manager of the New Lanark Mills, a position which he held until his retirement twenty-nine years later. By 1812 he was established as one of the greatest and wealthiest cotton barons of his time. But Owen was more than a successful cotton spinner; he was also involved in many facets of the development of industrializing Britain, both as capitalist and social reformer. As well as his success in the cotton industry he was involved with factory legislation, trade unionism, and the co-operative movement. In all this he continued, as he began, a rationalist educator who emphasized the importance of education and environment in shaping human character.

At New Lanark, in addition to running a very profitable enterprise, Owen educated the factory children, shortened the hours of labour, and made spectacular improvements in the working and living conditions of his employees. As he explained, his main concern was to make the working people "rational" and, in this way, bring "harmony" to the community.

Spurred on by his success at New Lanark, Owen urged his ideas upon the governments and ruling classes of Britain, Europe, and America, agitating for a national system of education, for the reform of factory conditions, and for the provision of state-aided unemployment relief in "Villages of Co-operation." While these efforts met with little success in the circles to which Owen directed them, his ideas attracted a substantial following among the English working class. Upon his return from America in 1829 he found himself the nominal head of a number of co-operative movements.[44] Owen also was prominent as the figure-head of the general trade union movement until its disintegration in 1834.

In a New View of Society, which together with Report to the County of Lanark contains his most important ideas, Owen presents both a theoretical analysis and an account of the New Lanark experiment. The New View of Society, consisting of four essays which analyse how character is formed and can be changed, explores the social changes necessary to make social reform possible. The central theme of these essays is well expressed in Owen's well-known statement;

> Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.[45]

Owen emphasized that children are "impressed with habits and sentiments similar to those of their parents and instructors; modified, however, by the circumstances in which they have been or may be placed, and by the peculiar organization of each individual." Owen stressed that "the character of man is, without a single exception, always formed for him" in a collective process—"the old collectivity may train the young collectivity to be ignorant and miserable or to be intelligent and happy." Owen began from the premise that "man is born with a desire to obtain happiness" and both this desire and "the faculties by which he acquires knowledge" are not formed alike in any two individuals. Education is, for Owen, the key—"by judicious training the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class."[46] The ambiguity between what is achieved socially and what exists individually, allowing for individual differences, remained throughout Owen's work.

Owen saw religious doctrine and practice, and the machine as the two major causes of human ills. Religion encouraged people to be irrational; and the machine degraded labour into a dispensable commodity, encouraged competition for the sake of wealth, divided men when they should be united, and made them selfish. It was Owen's conviction that if the environment and the religious beliefs that make people selfish and irrational were changed, then it would be possible for people to acquire the understanding and freedom to engineer their environment in such a way as to become more rational, less selfish, and happier human beings. To this end Owen directed his efforts at New Lanark.

Owen observed that contemporary educational practice taught and trained through a theory and practice opposed to each other. Owen proposed that the instruction to be given in the school, lecture room, and church at New Lanark would counteract this trend. He argues that there is little point in telling people how to behave unless they are given an opportunity in which they can behave in the way they have been instructed. As well as the knowledge of how, they need the conditions in which to act. In Owen's school at New Lanark Marx saw, in embryo, as it were, one of the means by which through socialism the effects of the division of labour could be overcome;

> From the factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.[47]

The professed rationale of Owen's career was to educate men into rationality, but the underlying motif of his lifetime's work was to reconstruct in an industrial and competitive age a harmonious and integrated social order. Both these concerns are evident in the following passage;

> As the happiness of man chiefly, if not altogether, depends upon his own sentiments and habits, as well as those of the individuals around him; and as any sentiments and habits may be given to all infants, it becomes of primary importance that these alone should be given to them which can contribute to their happiness. Each child, therefore, on his entrance to the playground, is to be told in language which he can understand, that "he is never to injure his playfellows; but that on the contrary, he is to contribute all in his power to make them happy." This simple precept when comprehended in all its bearings, and the habits which will arise from

> its early adoption in practice, if no counteracting principle be forced upon the young mind, will effectually supercede all the errors which have hitherto kept the world in ignorance and misery.[48]

There are those who have seen Robert Owen as the father of socialism in Britain. He asserted moral values in keeping with a co-operative mode of life instead of "pursuing the principle of individual interest." He explained how a communitarian lifestyle could solve poverty and unemployment by making the machine subordinate to men, and recreating in industrial conditions the imagined social harmony of pre-industrial Britain. Owen stood at the beginning of social criticism which later socialists were to recognize as akin to their own. But Owen was as much a "conservative" as he was a "socialist"—"in temperament, in prejudice, and in actual policy Owen was a Tory."[49] Though he saw that the working class were suffering in the new industrial system, he had no appreciation of the strength of class antagonisms, and no belief in their inevitability. As one writer has commented;

> The fact remains that his thought derived from a strictly paternalistic, anti-democratic, and retrospective social ideal which was ill-attuned to the part it was called upon to play in the history of working men, and that is one reason why "Owenism" was an ideology which did not survive mid-century. Much of what he first conceived, though of course, not all, was quite alien to the socialist tradition as it came to be defined even by Owenites within his own lifetime.[50]

Owenism became an umbrella ideology which was influential at many levels, and brought together many different types of men. As well as striking a chord with the relatively sophisticated urban artisan, Owen's message appealed to the domestic outworker, the skilled factory hand, and the shopkeeper; and the apocalyptic ring of his later writings won over the illiterate.

Owen's views had even more coverage than those of Paine. They were circulated around the country in a multitude of tracts and journals made available through the radical press, and debated in Mechanics' Institutes and Halls of Science. More importantly, Owen's ideas were expressed in institutional form. His ideas were put into practice within the context of everyday life in the communities established at Motherwell, Orbiston, and Queenwood; at the Labour Exchanges set up in London, Birmingham, and Liverpool between 1820 and 1832; in the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union; and in the 500 co-operative societies and their 20,000 members that existed in England by 1832. As one observer wrote in 1839, "Owenism . . . is at present in one form or another, the actual creed of a great proportion of the working classes."[51]

Owensim was strong while capitalism was in its infancy. Owenite idealism was at its most vulnerable when capitalism extended some of its rewards to the poor. In these circumstances, self-interest took over in the form of individualism, and the co-operative ideal disappeared.

Owen's system was at fault because his principles were founded on psychological premises which were lacking any sociological insight;

> At the heart of Owen's system was a confidence in the perfectability of the individual which precluded the necessity of any systematic, or truly sociological interpretation of social processes.[52]

But Owen had made important contributions to the socialist tradition. He left it the labour theory of value, and the underconsumptionist argument, and he indicated the way in which these conceptualizations of reality could be turned against bourgeois political economy. In the hands of future critics of capitalism, like Marx, these concepts evolved into a sophisticated form that Owen would hardly have recognized, and spelled out consequences he would not have accepted. Having made these reservations, however, we can look back at Owen's work and admire the criterion of social good which Owen attempted to express in the communitarian and co-operative ideal—an ideal that was implicit in his educational principles. Owen left an important legacy;

> . . . in suggesting that men should strive for harmony, and oppose an economic system which entailed the division of their interests and the depersonalization of their relationships, he was the first to imply a judgement which from a diversity of sources, not merely socialist, many of us inherit.[53]

SUMMARY

The increasing economic hardships experienced by the working class in the early nineteenth century catalyzed numerous labour disturbances in both town and country, and accentuated the intensity of political struggle. The ideals of working class radical movements during the period 1815-1832 were constructed on three major principles; the recognition of the value and the power of knowledge, the conviction of the possibility of human perfectability, and the possibility of discovering rapid solutions to the ills of early industrial society. Consequently early working-class radical ideals contained strong commitments to political and educational advance. The spirit of these ideals was often millenarian, especially in the early years. There was a belief that knowledge—like union, co-operation, parliamentary reform—could bring about immediate social improvements.

This chapter explores some of the directions in which working-class political activities developed, and shows their relation to a working-class education movement. Four developments which played an integral part in the growth of a working class education tradition have been considered; political education, the radical press, mechanics' institutions, and those principles and innovations associated with Robert Owen.

NOTES

[1] G. D. H. Cole, A Short History of the British Working Class Movement, 1948, p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 40. "In 1813 the clauses for the regulation of wages in Elizabethan law were formally repealed, and in 1814 the apprenticeship clauses were also abrogated. The doctrine of laissez-faire was thus proclaimed, and the precept of Parliament brought into line with what had been for some time its prevailing practice."

[3] Ibid., p. 43.

[4] Ibid., pp. 24-5.

[5] S. G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885, 1964, p. 8.

[6] For some years after 1825 the economy, though it made progress in the sense of a continued increase in output due to greater efficiency, and perhaps to greater effort, was not able to reach full employment. Signs of recovery appeared twice, but both in 1829 and 1831 they perished in loss of confidence. Partly this was due to poor harvests in 1828 and 1830. New investment, both at home and abroad, was at a very low ebb (see S. G. Checkland, ibid., p. 14).

[7] Ibid., p. 325.

[8] Ibid., p. 324.

[9] Ibid., p. 326.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Cited in B. Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870, 1974, p. 188.

[12] Black Dwarf, April 21, 1819 in B. Simon, ibid., p. 189.

[13] R. F. Wearmouth, Some Working-Class Movements of the Nineteenth Century, 1948, p. 35.

[14] Ibid., p. 43.

[15] Manchester Observer, May 8, 1819 in B. Simon, op. cit., p. 190.

[16] R. F. Wearmouth, op. cit., p. 49.

[17] Quoted in H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850, 1975, p. 51.

[18] Co-operator, 1828 in H. Silver, op. cit., p. 51.

[19] Carpenters London Journal, Feb. 13, 1836 in P. Hollis, The Pauper Press, 1970, p. 19.

[20] Political Register, May 9, 1835 in P. Hollis, op. cit., pp. 19-20

[21] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 1968, p. 86.

[22] W. H. Wickwar, The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press 1819-1832, 1928, p. 54.

[23] W. Cobbett cited in E. P. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 686-7

[24] P. Hollis, The Pauper Press, 1970, p. xiii.

[25] C. D. Collett, History of the Taxes on Knowledge, 1899 in B. Simon, op. cit., p. 192.

[26] B. Simon, op. cit., p. 193.

[27] M. Tylecote, The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851, 1957.

[28] J. G. Godard. George Birkbeck, the Pioneer of Popular Education, 1884, p. 23.

[29] The composition of the directorate suggests that the extent to which working-class interests were represented in the planning of the programme of the Edinburgh School of Arts were limited to say the least!

> "The institution was launched under highly respectable auspicies, the King being 'Patron,' while the 'Presidents' included six noblemen. The first subscribers' list contains such names as the Lord Advocate, the Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Walter Scott (1 guinea), and P. Fraser Tytler, the historian. On the actual governing body as Directors there sat during the early years, along with Bryson and two other tradesmen, David Brewster the scientist, Professor Pillans, and John (afterwards Lord) Murray, a leading Whig. Homer assumed office as Secretary." (Morwick, "Early Adult Education in Edinburgh," The Journal of Adult Education, April, 1932, p. 390 in M. Tylecote, op. cit., pp. 16-17).

[30] E. Halévy, Thomas Hodgskin, 1957, p. 87.

[31] B. Simon, op. cit., p. 154.

[32] E. Halévy, op. cit., p. 88.

[33] M. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 19.

[34] "Among the names of the subscribers to the building fund, raised in 1824, appear those of James Mill, Ricardo, Grote, Cobbett, Place, Bentham, J. C. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett, while it was stated that 'not a single Tory attended the meeting or contributed to the support of the Mechanics' Institution. . . . On the other hand, the possibility of an alliance with a more distinctively working-class point of view was defeated when a difference of opinion (on the question of financial independence) between Robertson and Hodgskin and other promoters of the Institution, led to the resignation of the former.

It should be noted however that leading Liberal Tories gave their adherence to the movement as it spread to the provinces, and this was particularly so in Liverpool where Huskisson and Gladstone provided valuable financial support (Huskisson was elected the first president of the Liverpool School of Arts) and the approval of Peel and Robinson was quoted. The names of Peel and Huskisson also appeared as subscribers to the Edinburgh School of Arts in 1825 and Sir Walter Scott had both sent a subscription in 1821 and made a personal appearance at the annual meeting in 1824" (Tylecote, op. cit., pp. 19-20).

[35] T. Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, 1957, p. 88.

[36] *Mechanics Magazine*, Oct. 11, 1823.

[37] R. Detrosier, "Address to the New Mechanics Institute at Manchester," 1829.

[38] M. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 34.

[39] T. Hodgskin, cited in G. D. H. Cole's Introduction to *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital*, 1963, p. 10.

[40] T. Hodgskin, op. cit., p. 10.

[41] See G. D. H. Cole, Introduction to T. Hodgskin, op. cit.

[42] G. D H. Cole, ibid., p. 13.

[43] V. A. C. Gatrell, "Owen in the Twentieth Century," Introduction, Robert Owen's A New View of Society, 1970, p. 9.

[44] These co-operative movements were usually based in the great towns, sometimes millenarian in their expectations, almost always explicitly anti-capitalist, and all sheltering men who had more or less directly found their enlightenment in Owen's writings (see V. A. C. Gatrell, op. cit., p. 10).

[45] R. Owen, A New View of Society, (1813), 1970, p. 101.

[46] These extracts from Owen's work are all from A New View of Society.

[47] K. Marx, Capital, vol. 1, in B. Simon, The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, 1972, p. 19.

[48] R. Owen, op. cit., p. 134.

[49] V. A. C. Gatrell, op. cit., p. 17.

[50] Ibid., p. 21.

[51] Cited in V. A. C. Gatrell, ibid., p. 77.

[52] Ibid., p. 79.

[53] Ibid., p. 81.

CHAPTER NINE

ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

1780-1832

> It is a question of whether we can grasp the real nature of our society, or whether we persist in social and educational patterns based on a limited ruling class, a middle professional class, a large operative class, cemented by forces that cannot be challenged and will not be changed. The privileges and barriers, of an inherited kind, will in any case go down. It is only a question of whether we replace them by the free play of the market, or by a public education designed to express and create the values of an educated democracy and a common culture.
>
> Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, 1965, p. 176.

INTRODUCTION

During the period 1780-1832 the British economy reached levels of productivity unprecedented in history, and created the framework of the modern industrial system. The Industrial Revolution whose characteristics became most evident during the period under consideration, as well as revolutionizing industrial techniques and processes, revolutionized Britain's social structure. Long-established social relationships of traditional agrarian society were replaced by those of capitalism and industrial enterprise. Traditional lifestyles, apparent in the life of the village, faded into the background in the face of the rapid growth of industrial towns and cities. The distinctive lifestyles of particular occupations such as agricultural worker, weaver, and artisan became increasingly absorbed into the industrial labour force that was to evolve as the modern wage-earning class.

It is E. P. Thompson's thesis that the working class established their identity during the period with which this study is concerned. While there are those who would question the extent of this development of the forty years that Thompson identifies as the formative years of the English working class, few would disagree with his account as an authoritative statement on the origins of the working class and its distinctive culture. Thompson writes;

> . . . the outstanding fact of the period between 1790 and 1830, is the formation of the working class. This is revealed first in the growth of class consciousness of an identity of interests as between all these diverse groups of working people and as against the interests of other classes. And, second, in the growth of corresponding forms of political and industrial organization. By 1832 there were strongly based and self conscious working-class institutions—trade unions, friendly societies, educational and religious movements, political organizations, periodicals—working-class intellectual traditions, working-class community patterns, and a working-class structure of feeling.[1]

Raymond Williams supports this general interpretation, although he locates the development of a working-class consciousness more specifically in the 1820s. He describes these years as "the decade of silent insurrection," a time when a specifically working-class consciousness was developing in education, political action, trade organization, and cultural aspiration.[2] The changing material and social conditions brought about by the effects of industrialization resulted in the concentration of workers that was to become the first industrial proletariat. But it was the workers themselves—their reactions to a changed lifestyle and the new hardships of industrial work; their attitudes towards, and relations with, members of other classes; their attention to ways of coping with, and interpretting, their experience; and their efforts to change, or at least control, the circumstances in which they found themselves—as much as the circumstances themselves that shaped the working class and its culture. That is, it was the actions of particular members of the working class, as much as the circumstances of the events in which they found themselves, that led to the formation of a distinctive working-class culture. It has been the intention of this study to show that education was a fundamental aspect of this evolving culture.

There is a strange contradiction in the literature regarding the significance of education in the development of the working class. One body of opinion argues that the poor had no time and little interest for education.[3] The poor have been described as "disinterested onlookers" in matters of their own education during this period, yet, out of the same era, the future leaders of the great working-class movements—Trades Unions, Working Men's Association, and Chartism—were to emerge. As Stephen has indicated, "There is probably no period in English history in which a greater number of poor men have risen to fame."[4]

This study has focused on the origins, developments, and characteristics of working-class education, and shown how they arose from the techno-economic and socio-political movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The effects of the Industrial Revolution created a social milieu in which class divisions became increasingly well-defined, and identified with characteristic class ideologies. An awareness of these ideological commitments has provided a basis from which to explore; first, the education (or lack of education) made available to the working class by the upper and middle classes and, second, the efforts of the working class to develop means of education suited to their own needs.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

In order to discover the origins of working-class education it has been necessary to examine a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Working-class education, as well as having its own indigenous origins, appropriated many of its characteristics from the experience of other social groups, and other historical periods. The "pre-existing intellectual categories" available to a new social group as they develop an identity limits the basis from which new ideas can arise and, since actions and ideas are interdependent, limit the range of planned action that the group can undertake.

Five influences that contributed to the origins of working-class education during the late eighteenth century have been identified: a reaction against the dominant educational ideology; the influence of radicalism; a tradition of self-help; the Mutual Improvement Societies; and the Corresponding Societies.

The Reaction Against the Dominant Educational Ideology

One influence is evident in the general context of the reaction against a Church-dominated system of formal education. The Anglican Church, under the control of the State since the sixteenth century, had complete authority over all the recognized channels of formal education. The hierarchical social structure of England, which was still largely intact in 1815, relied heavily for its continued existence on the universities, public schools, and grammar schools, and on the absence of any widespread popular schooling. The three components of the formal educational system played an important role in reproducing the elite of the hierarchical order and their representatives. The future ruling class were educated at the public schools and universities, while their representatives were educated in the same classical tradition, at the grammar schools, but at an appropriately lower level and with a suitably reduced status.

There was no room for any widespread attempt to introduce popular education to the "lower orders." Indeed, such a venture was seen by many to be contrary to the interests of the existing social order. Any organized education that was available to members of the "lower orders" was more conspicuous as a means of social control than for any pedagogic functions.

One organized voice of protest opposed this rigid system of education and the Church's (and, hence, the State's) domination of education—that of the Dissenting Academies. The academies had been established during the seventeenth century to provide higher education for those who could not obtain it at university because of their religious convictions. Free of the limiting influence of the Church, tutors at the academies were able to make significant progress in their fields, and, as a result, the academies were able to offer some of the best education to be had in Britain during the eighteenth century.

The influence of the academies was declining by the end of the eighteenth century, but their general philosophy and educational outlook was evident in many of the literary and philosophical societies that developed at the end of the century. Together, the Dissenting Academies and the Literary and Philosophical Societies represented a new thrust in educational practice that was to challenge the existing education system. Together, these two educational movements represented the basis of an alternative educational ideology.

The Influence of Radicalism

A second influence that contributed to the origins of working-class education is evident in the struggles of revolutionary movements abroad, and their significance in helping to establish a radical political movement in Britain. First, the Declaration of Independence (1776), and then the Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) kindled, and fired, the development of an extensive tradition of political and social reform. Two broad categories of radicalism were evident—moderate reformists (middle-class radicalism) and constitutional reformists (working-class radicalism)—which became increasingly separate as the nineteenth century progressed. Radicalism grew strong enough to become a very real threat to the existing social relations and, as it did, the Tories coined the name "radical" as an offensive nickname for all revolutionary democrats.

The French Revolution, particularly, provided a stimulus which provoked a political discussion—exemplified by the Price-Burke-Paine debate—that was to be basic to early nineteenth century radical thought. Out of this political debate came Paine's Rights of Man and Age of Reason, and Godwin's Political Justice, which provided the first political statements on an alternative system of government that recognized that members of the working class were entitled to the same treatment and respect as other members of the society.

Education was an important feature of both Paine's and Godwin's writings. Paine identified ignorance as the prime enemy of political and social advance, and saw education as the means for recognizing, and realizing, new political ideals and social rights. In education he saw a force that would contribute to the realization of the ideals of democracy, equality, and the spirit of fraternity. Godwin, realizing that education was too powerful an instrument to be in the hands of the State, emphasized the responsibility of each parent to ensure their children received an efficient and humane education. He emphasized that the creation of a just society was dependent upon an efficient and humane system of education.

From the work of Paine, Godwin, and others it is possible to discern a critical basis which prompted the beginnings of a working-class radical tradition in education;

a tradition which saw education as a fundamental component of radical social change, and the working class as the motive force behind such change.

A Tradition of Self-Help

An indigenous working-class education was already evident in the self-help tradition of the eighteenth century. The autobiographies of self-educated workers reveal the same sort of pattern—a pattern of inadequate schooling, yet enough to appreciate the possibility of reading and writing; a second attempt to master these skills, often under the most difficult conditions; a keen inquisitiveness about the rapidly changing social world that they knew from first-hand experience, and about the larger world beyond their experience that they became increasingly aware of through their reading; and, finally, a study of philosophy, theology, political economy, mathematics, and science. While this self-help tradition was evident among only a minority of the working-class, its influence, through this minority, was out of all proportion to the numbers directly involved.

The Mutual Improvement Societies

The Mutual Improvement Societies were a natural extension of individual efforts to acquire education. These small groups, which appeared to fulfil a particular intellectual purpose, and disappeared as soon as that purpose had been accomplished or the available intellectual resources exhausted, provide the first evidence of formalization in working-class education. They often followed a simple set of rules of procedure, a programme of essays, readings and discussions, and attempted to collect a small library of books. Their primary objectives were aimed at promoting proficiency in the "three Rs," but they sometimes included Geography, History, French, and Chemistry. Instruction was usually given voluntarily by the workers themselves.

The Corresponding Societies

The Corresponding Societies provided a focal point for the fusion of working-class radicalism and education. As the working-class wing of the radical movement, the Corresponding Societies were the first typically working-class political organization in England. As a movement dedicated to the dissemination of radical literature and the ideology of reform, the Corresponding Societies placed great importance on the task of educating both their own members, and any members of the general public who would give them an audience. Through books, leaflets, pamphlets, correspondence, readings, discussions, meetings, conventions, lectures, and demonstrations, the societies set out to create a national movement for reform.

Cognizant ~~of~~ their importance and effectiveness, the government harrassed the Corresponding Societies from the beginning. Within a year of their formation, societies' members were being persecuted as "Jacobins" throughout the country, and the leading societies had been infiltrated by government spies. Within two years, leading members of the London Corresponding Society were arrested and charged with high treason, and, though every member was acquitted, this action proved to be the beginning of the end for the societies. In 1799, seven years after the Corresponding Societies had come into existence, legislation was enacted which effectively prevented the continuation of their activities.

DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING CLASS EDUCATION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is much more difficult to discern a pattern of working-class activity in relation to education at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This may be because of the effectiveness of the Corresponding Societies Act and the Combination Acts in suppressing formally organized working class activities, or it may be because of the tendency of historians to interpret all radicalism as middle class the closer they come to writing about the time of the 1832 Reform Act. Working-class political consciousness and educational activities did not stop because their most developed political societies were outlawed in 1799. Working-class radicals continued their activities either as part of an underground movement, such as the radical press, or together with the middle-class movement for political reform.

Legislation controlled the more obvious forms of working-class radicalism to begin with—especially worker's attempts to politically educate fellow workers—but, with growing class awareness, the focus of working-class activities changed from that of societies organized to disseminate information to raise the awareness of workers, to activities that the ruling class and the aspiring middle class could not ignore.

When the Minimum Wage Bill was defeated in 1808, industrial workers realized that they could no longer expect help from the government to bring their wages in line with the cost of living. There followed a series of agricultural and industrial disturbances including; the Lancashire cotton and woollen weaver's strike (1808), Durham and Northumberland miner's strike (1810), Luddite machine-wrecking (1812-15), the East Anglian agricultural riots (1816), the Spa Field Riots (1816), the Blanketeer's March (1817), and the Derbyshire "insurrection" (1817). These labour disturbances, together with the general clamour for political reform, prompted the government to rely on increasingly repressive measures to shore up their precarious position. In 1817 the government found it necessary to suspend Habeas Corpus and, after the Lancashire strikes (1818) and the Peterloo Massacre (1819), the Six Acts were instituted.

The war against France had enabled the government to use repressive measures to quell the disturbing claims of radicals and their agitation for reform, in the name of the "national interest." However, once the war was over, the reform movement lost no time in reasserting its position.

Though the old oligarchy remained largely intact at the end of the war, it was evident that Britain had depended, during the war, and would increasingly come to depend on industrial efficiency. Aware of this position, the industrialists had learned to wield effective lobbies.

Given these two ingredients—the political power of the oligarchy and the growing economic power of the industrialists—political struggle was inevitable. The struggle had two obvious foci. One, that of the middle class, sought to change the general rules of economic and political behaviour. That is, they intended to change government, in the traditional sense at Westminster, in order to create conditions that would be more condusive to industrial and commercial growth. The other focus, that more in keeping with the interests of the working class, was more concerned with the basic distribution of product between labour and capital. The Hampden Clubs and Political Unions have been considered as representatives of the first perspective, and the radical press as more representative of the second.

The Hampden Clubs

The period 1816-1820 saw the development of the Hampden Clubs and the Political Unions. Many workers who had earlier come into contact with radicalism in the Corresponding Societies found their way to the Hampden Clubs. These clubs even arranged their activities in much the same way as the Corresponding Societies had done before them. Organized discussion was accompanied by political action. Inexpensive editions of radical literature were made available. Secular Sunday schools were organized, and reading rooms were provided with radical literature purchased from the worker's subscriptions of a penny a week. Great importance was placed on political education and its contribution to political activities.

There is a considerable overlap, both geographically and in terms of activities, between the Corresponding Societies and the Hampden Clubs and the Political Unions. However it is evident that the latter had a significant middle-class influence which was marginal to the Corresponding Societies.

The Radical Press

After the Napoleonic Wars the radical press became the most important disseminator of ideas and information relevant to working-class interests. A number of radicals—including Carlile, Cobbett, Hone, Watson, and Wooler—led a militant struggle for the freedom of the press, and, in so doing, created a medium which proved to be the most important mouthpiece and educator of the working class during the post-war period.

One of the Six Acts of 1819 was specifically directed against the unstamped press but, although many editors, printers, publishers, and distributors were gaoled, these publications continued to play an important role in the development of a political awareness among the working class.

Cheap journals and books in conjunction with class meetings and active political campaigning formed the core of educational efforts from 1816 to 1823.

Two other developments in the early nineteenth century have been discussed as contributors to the development of a working-class tradition in education; the Mechanics Institutes, and the influence of Owen and Owenism. Neither of these influences can justifiably be called "working class," though aspects of them were, and their influences had both positive and negative consequences for the development of the working class.

The Mechanics Institutes

The Mechanics Institutes were, at the same time, the most impressive form of adult education in the early nineteenth century, and the most disappointing attempt to organize an adult working-class education movement. What men like Hodgskin and Robertson had envisaged as an educational institution for workers, organized and directed by workers, became the philanthropic gesture of middle-class radicals, industrialists, and Whig politicians to the politically vocal working class.

Hodgskin and Robertson had started to work for the foundation of a Mechanics' Institute when they began to publish the Mechanics' Magazine in 1823. They wanted to develop a workers' educational programme which, as well as providing an instruction in science, art and manufactures, would provide an understanding of politics and economics. These objectives were only partially recognized in the programme of the London Mechanics' Institute when it opened in 1824; practical instruction was realized, political and economic education were not.

Robert Owen and Education

Owen's activities represent an attempt to apply some of the theories forwarded by such radicals as Paine and Godwin. Owen's general theoretical insights and practical educational contributions are inseparable from the developments he introduced at New Lanark on taking over the management of the mills in 1800.

Owen, as well as being a successful industrialist and capitalist, played an important part in social reform, factory legislation, trade unionism, and the co-operative movement in the early nineteenth century. Owen was also an important rationalist educator. His conception of human nature, and the role of education and environment in shaping human character remained consistent throughout his activities.

The following tables outline the origins and development of working-class education as they have been considered in this study, and include influences which have not been examined here, but which could well be taken as the subject of further study.

TABLE SEVEN

MODEL SHOWING THE MAIN INFLUENCES AFFECTING EDUCATION DURING INDUSTRIALIZATION

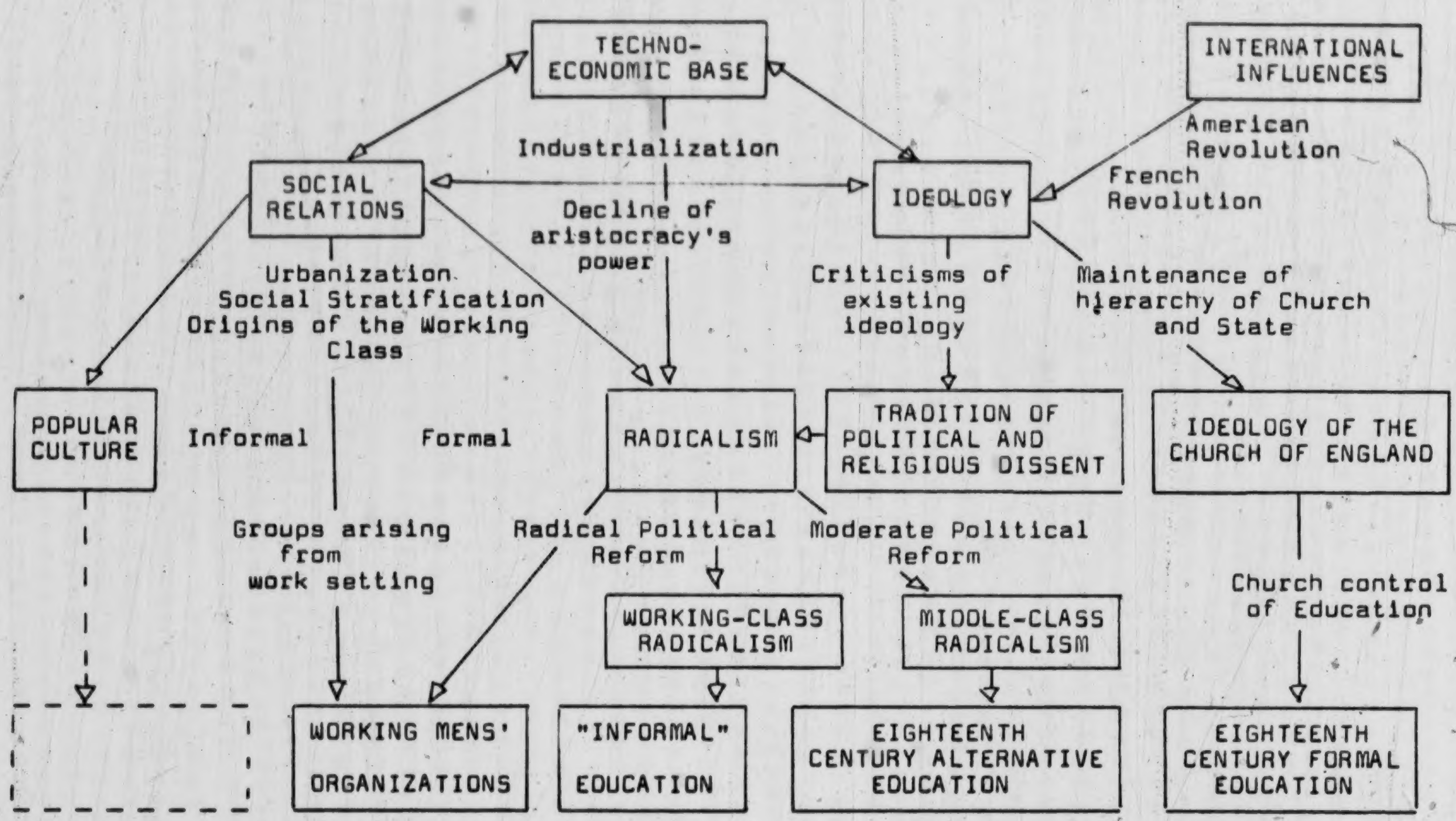
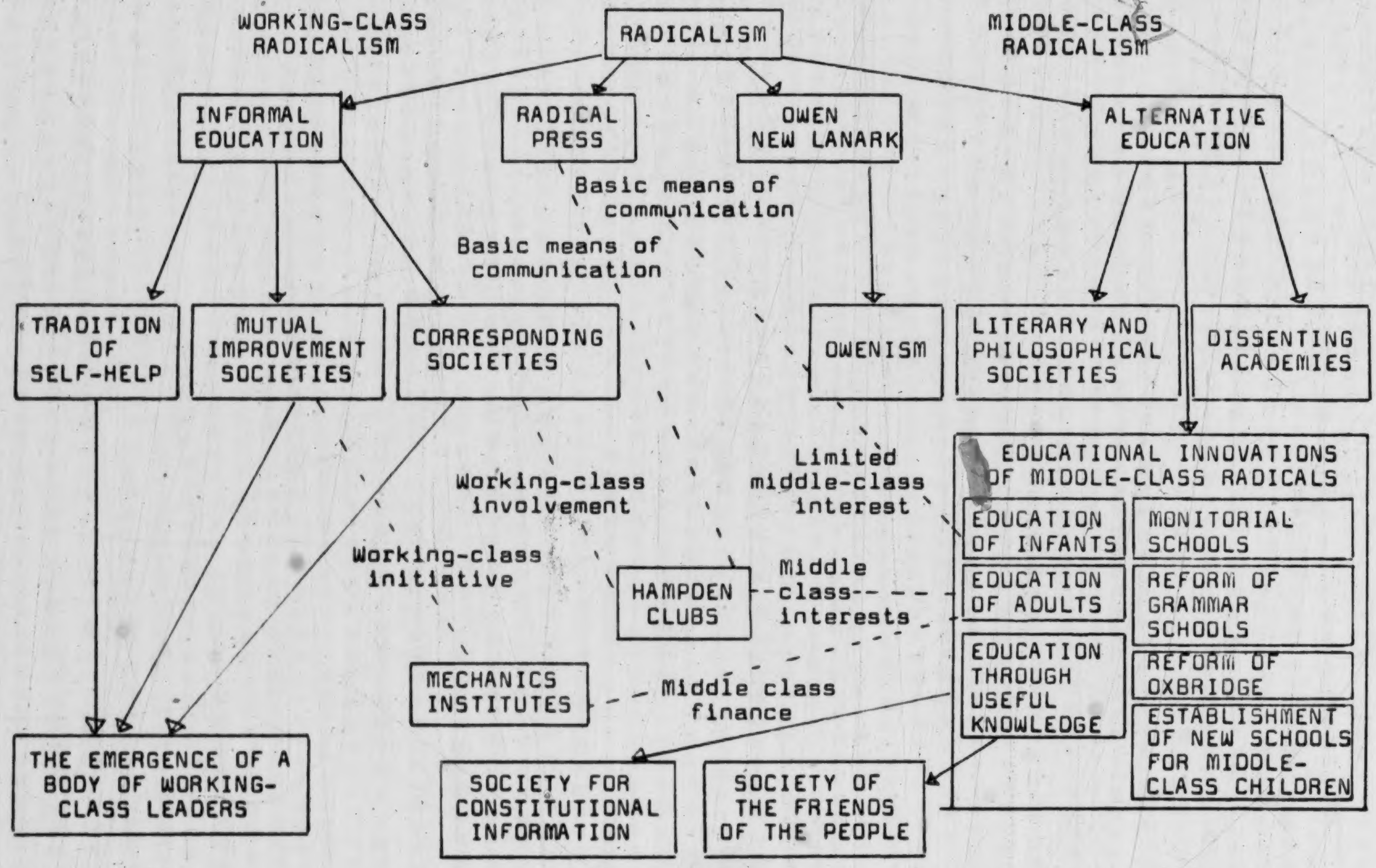

TECHNO-ECONOMIC BASE
INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES
American Revolution
French Revolution
Industrialization
SOCIAL RELATIONS
IDEOLOGY
Decline of aristocracy's power
Urbanization
Social Stratification
Origins of the Working Class
Criticisms of existing ideology
Maintenance of hierarchy of Church and State
POPULAR CULTURE
Informal
Formal
RADICALISM
TRADITION OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DISSENT
IDEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Groups arising from work setting
Radical Political Reform
Moderate Political Reform
Church control of Education
WORKING-CLASS RADICALISM
MIDDLE-CLASS RADICALISM
WORKING MENS' ORGANIZATIONS
"INFORMAL" EDUCATION
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FORMAL EDUCATION

TABLE EIGHT

MODEL SHOWING THE MAIN EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES ARISING OUT OF RADICALISM


WORKING-CLASS RADICALISM
RADICALISM
MIDDLE-CLASS RADICALISM
INFORMAL EDUCATION
RADICAL PRESS
OWEN NEW LANARK
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION
Basic means of communication
Basic means of communication
TRADITION OF SELF-HELP
MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETIES
CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES
OWENISM
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES
DISSENTING ACADEMIES
Working-class involvement
Limited middle-class interest
EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS OF MIDDLE-CLASS RADICALS
EDUCATION OF INFANTS
MONITORIAL SCHOOLS
Working-class initiative
HAMPDEN CLUBS
Middle class interests
EDUCATION OF ADULTS
REFORM OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS
EDUCATION THROUGH USEFUL KNOWLEDGE
REFORM OF OXBRIDGE
MECHANICS INSTITUTES
Middle class finance
ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW SCHOOLS FOR MIDDLE-CLASS CHILDREN
THE EMERGENCE OF A BODY OF WORKING-CLASS LEADERS
SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION
SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE

CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION 1780-1832

A review of the contributions of eight influences to the origins and development of a working-class education tradition has been the subject of the first part of this chapter. The latter part examines the legacy that these influences left working-class education.

The characteristics that have been identified were not those of any particular working-class experience or experiment but, rather, a collection of characteristics from various sources. Many of them did not even originate in working-class culture, but they did have their effect and leave their influence on working-class education. This study has examined the development of a reservoir of educational theory and practice that was available to, and used by, the early industrial working class.

Characteristics Resulting from the Reaction Against the Dominant Educational Ideology

It has been suggested that a growing dissatisfaction with the Church-dominated system of formal education prompted an alternative approach to education. While this alternative education was only available to a minority, and this minority decidedly not of the working class, the principles of education for which the Dissenting Academies stood were an important source from which future radical educational movements were to draw.

Within the rationalist principles of education that developed in Britain in the Dissenting Academies and the Scottish Universities, it is possible to distinguish a number of basic characteristics that were to become important to the radical educational movement, in general, and the working-class educational movement in particular. First, there was the highly significant departure from the Church-dominated view of the inherently evil nature of the child. In the eyes of the rationalist the child was not innately corrupt—an evil miniature adult to be moulded and, if necessary, beaten into shape. Neither were the roots of social problems and injustices to be seen in terms of the concept of "original sin" but, rather, in terms of the faulty structure and mismanaged processes of society. Consequently, children's differences were to be regarded largely as a result of different environments. Given adequate education all children were seen to be capable of a high level of intellectual development.

These new assumptions led to two basic tenets of the rationalist position;

1) The supremacy of reason in making decisions and in producing the identity and social well-being of the individual, and
2) The importance of adopting social (especially educational) forces to affect the development of each individual.

As well as encouraging the movement away from the Church's concept of the child and education, the rationalist position emphasized that the child had a natural right to education, and that the parents had a natural right to determine the nature and content of that education.

Characteristic of the rationalist approach to education as demonstrated in the Dissenting Academies, was their liberal interpretation of the scope and character of education, and their disdain for dogma. Typically, the academies were for those of all religious persuasions, and their curricula were liberal and comprehensive. The Classics were still taught, but equal or greater emphasis was placed on other areas of enquiry like Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, History, and Government to name a few. The emphasis, in contrast to the literati-like approach to classical education, focused on more practical issues and current topics of concern.

Characteristics Resulting from the Influence of Radicalism

It has been suggested that the revolutionary movements in the American colonies and France reawakened political sentiments in Britain. Political radicalism became an organized voice of dissent from the orthodoxy of Aristocracy, Church and State, and its ideology had implications for working-class education. Constitutional or popular reform, later to be called working-class radicalism, was the first organized attempt to forward a social programme on behalf of the majority of the people. Two people, in particular, have been identified as important contributors to this radical movement—Tom Paine and William Godwin.

Tom Paine's appeal for reason and just government called for an end to ignorance. No government, he claimed, should allow any of its people to remain uninstructed, for only a monarchical and aristocratic government required ignorance for its support. In the same breath Paine castigated the existing government and suggested the basis of a future, more just government; namely, one that had as its basis an instructed, informed citizenry.

Paine stood for full democracy, equality, and the spirit of fraternity among equals, and insisted that each successive generation was competent to define its own rights and priorities. He was able to generate uncertainty about the ubiquity of Church and State, and provide the people with a chance to comprehend a society free from the myth of the devine order—"the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, He made them high and lowly and ordered their estate." Paine would have none of this truck.

William Godwin forwarded the most radical educational theories of the 1790s, which included both a broad analysis of education's contribution to social regeneration, and a detailed discussion of questions relating to teaching and learning. Drawing from Locke's philosophical outlook and Hartley's psychological theory of associationism, Godwin emphasized the importance of environmental experiences for the development of intellectual and moral qualities. He stressed that while children were certainly born different, it was impressions that made the adult.

Well ahead of his time (for the point has still to be taken), Godwin recognized that education was too powerful an instrument to be in the hands of the State. For him, the creation of a just society was dependent on the development of a humane and efficient system of education free from the sanctions of government.

Brian Simon has identified three characteristics of the radical tradition in education;

1) A belief in the formative power of education;
2) An emphasis on science and scientific education as a means to truth; and
3) An emphasis on secular education.

It is evident that there is a close similarity between the educational theory emerging from the tradition of dissent, and that arising from popular radicalism. Tom Paine made many of the ideas of the dissenting tradition available to the working people of Britain.

Characteristics Resulting from the Tradition of Self-Help

Those artisans and workers who became educated through their own efforts (people like Bamford, Cobbett, Cooper, and Lovett, to name some of the better known members of this group) influenced the development of the working class out of all proportion to their numbers, for they provided the only indigenous leadership for the people at this time in a variety of social and political movements.

As well as providing leadership they provided an example. They demonstrated that knowledge was not the exclusive preserve of the aristocratic minority, nor of the newly arrived industrialists and professionals. Here were men who had been born into poor families and had not had the opportunities of regular formal education, and yet had shown that it was possible to become familiar with, and master of, some of the leading ideas of the day.

Characteristics Resulting from the Influence of the Mutual Improvement Societies

Small groups of workers and artisans meeting in each others houses or in hired rooms were a natural extension of the self-help tradition that has already been described. These Mutual Improvement Societies arose spontaneously as there was a need for them and disbanded when they were no longer relevant. They developed for specific purposes and because members saw them as contributing to their needs at a particular moment of time.

Pedagogically these societies represented an intermediate stage between private study and formal organized instruction. They emphasized elementary subjects like reading, writing, and arithmetic. Discussion and debates on current political and economic topics formed an important part of the meetings. A weekly payment of 1d or 2d was usual and these funds would often be used to purchase books for a small library.

Characteristics Resulting from the Influence of the Corresponding Societies

The Corresponding Societies provided a national organization whose activities were the first signs of large-scale political and educational activities, which originated from working-class sources and were directly concerned with working-class interests.

The Corresponding Societies set out to create a national movement for reform, a movement in which education was seen to have a key role. In the activities of these societies the pragmatic concerns of working-class themes are already evident: the concern with basic questions of food, housing, and conditions of employment; the concern with fundamental political rights; and the recognition of the need to educate fellow workers in political matters and, through this education to encourage political action.

In the political programme of the Corresponding Societies—the "Plan of Radical Reform," which included universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and payments by members—can be seen the basic issues of "The Peoples Charter," which was to appear forty years later. The objectives of the Corresponding Societies also included campaigning for the restoration of basic liberties, the freedom of the press, the simplification of the law, and the appointment of unbiased judges and independent juries. In all these objectives were the fundamental concerns that the people should be better served by government, and that the circumstances that created poverty should be overcome.

The on-going activities of the Corresponding Societies exemplify certain characteristics that were to become typical of working-class organizations: the intermingling of political and economic themes; the determination to propagate opinions and organize the converted; the dual purpose of a centre for educational and political activities and social occasions that the societies' meetings fulfilled; the appointment of a working-man as secretary, the low weekly subscription, and the attention to procedural formalities.

In these societies, for the first time, the working class began to formalize political objectives and develop independent educational activities to serve working-class interests. The intensity with which the State persecuted the Corresponding Societies is some indication of their significance and success.

Characteristics Resulting from the Influence of the Hampden Clubs

The Hampden Clubs resembled the Corresponding Societies in a number of ways, especially in matters of organization and procedure. But, because they attracted a much larger middle-class following, their concerns were more directly concerned with Parliamentary reform to secure the political representation of the middle class. Basic concerns of the working class that had been fundamental to the Corresponding Societies were peripheral concerns of many of the Hampden Clubs.

The influence of the Hampden Clubs on the working-class education movement was both positive and negative. On the positive side, they provided a focal point for radical discussion, a setting where workers, as well as members of the middle class, could strive towards political reform. Their negative influence was to sidetrack the educational and political efforts of the working class into activities which contributed to the successful implementation of the Reform Act of 1832—a defeat for the working-class radicals, and an empty victory for the middle class.

Characteristics Resulting from the Influence of the Radical Press

The radical press fulfilled the important task of popularizing and circulating the radical views of the time. Cheap editions of books like the Rights of Man and the "pauper press" brought the ideas of the radicals to all the working class who cared to know. It was easy enough to get together and raise twopence for Cobbett's Register, and there were readings and discussions in taverns and coffee houses so that even the illiterate became aware of the main issues.

Radical publishers and editors created a press which was directed at a liberating and educational role. Implicit in their efforts was the conviction that oppression could not survive when confronted with the power of truth. The radical press formed the core of the educational efforts of the working class radicals immediately after the war years. Cheap editions and the "pauper press" kept the tradition of self-education alive, a tradition from which local leaders of working-class society emerged.

Characteristics Arising from the Influence of the Mechanics Institutes

The plan of Roberts and Hodgskin to form Mechanics' Institutes under the control of workers was the most promising practical plan for working class education to appear in the early nineteenth century. These institutes were originally conceived to provide education in science, art, and manufactories together with an understanding of politics and economics. Unfortunately the form that they finally took was as disappointing as their conception was exciting for they became "the props of orthodoxy and respectability instead of working class organizations."[5]

While the Mechanics Institutes never became the working-class organizations they were intended to be, their activities had some positive outcomes for the working class. First, they provided some centres where workers could get a practical education. Some institutes had workers on their organizing committees and at these institutes working class interests were at least represented. They also provided an example of national education designed for workers, and so helped to make this development more acceptable to members of other classes.

In the ideas of Hodgskin and Roberts, and in the early development of the Mechanics Institutes there was a repetition of the general concerns of the working class that have been outlined before.

Characteristics Arising from the Influence of Robert Owen and Owenism

While it may be accurate to label Owen as "the archetype of the benevolent entrepreneur," he was also responsible for bringing socialism some of its basic ideas; for example, the labour theory of value. But Owen was no socialist.

In whatever way we choose to classify Owen and his ideas it is certain that he was a significant figure in the development of working-class ideas on education. To a limited extent, Owen showed in practice at New Lanark the rationalist principles that people like Paine and Godwin had written about. He also demonstrated that efficient industrial practice and rational principles need not be contradictory.

Characteristics that Owen left the working-class education tradition include: a restatement and popularization of the principle that the future of the adult depends on the environment and experiences of the child (that is, any normal child is capable of any attainment given the necessary education); the notion that social change can be achieved through education; the idea of combining productive labour with instruction as a basic approach to education; and a repetition of the concern that the main goal of education was to enable people to become rational, critical human beings.

Owen and Owenism were important contributors to the development of the working class in the early nineteenth century, and their importance, influence, and characteristics deserve more detailed examination than can be undertaken here.

EPILOGUE

In undertaking a project one is never sure of its outcome. This study has not reached its conclusion because the subject matter has proved to be too extensive to analyze in this context. It therefore seems more appropriate to close with some comments on future areas of enquiry than to attempt to conclude unfinished business.

A consideration of the origins, development and characteristics of working-class education necessitated an examination of the socio-historical setting in which such education arose. In relating working-class education to the general economic, political, and social trends of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and examining its relation to existing educational theory and practice, at least three important factors which contributed to its development have not been considered—namely, the role of Methodism, the importance of workers' associations and the significance of popular culture.

The focus of another study in this area could concentrate on the growth of industry and the development of labour groups, and their evolution into workers' associations. Such a study could examine the educational activities that occurred in these associations and consider their relation to such movements as Corresponding Societies, Hampden Clubs, Mechanics Institutes, and the Radical Press.[6]

The role of Methodism in the development of the working class remains a contentious issue. Another focus of research, then, would be to examine the role of Methodism, especially Primitive Methodism, in the development of a working-class education tradition.

There is also the area of popular culture. Through ballads, the culture of taverns and coffee houses, and working-class leisure activities, an education was also to be had. This remains an area of research that requires an analysis of primary evidence.

These three influences and, no doubt, others which I have not considered, need to be examined before an adequate account of the origins, development, and characteristics of working-class education can be attempted.

NOTES

[1] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 1968, pp. 212-3.

[2] R. Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, 1964, p. 4.

[3] A. Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p. 8.

[4] Leslie Stephen in J. W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, 1964, p. 15.

[5] T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, 1957, p. 88.

[6] A useful starting point for such a study might be Zygmunt Bauman, Between Class and Elite: the Evolution of the British Labour Movement: a Sociological Study, 1972.

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APPENDIX ONE

APPENDIX ONE

MAIN EVENTS 1770-1832

1770	Prime Minister North (Tory, King's Friends)
	American duties, except on tea, were repealed
1771	
1772	Thomas Coke of Holkham, Norfolk, made scientific farming fashionable
1773	Boston Tea Party—protest against tea tax
1774	Quebec Act facilitated the problem of government in French Canada
	Lord North enacts penal measures against Massachusetts
1775	Massachusetts militia men attacked the British troops at Lexington and Concord
1776	American Declaration of Independence
	Smith's *Wealth of Nations*
	Gibbon's *Decline and Fall . . .*
	Bentham's *Fragment on Government*
1777	
1778	French join Americans in War against England
1779	Spain declares War on England
1780	Gordon Riots
	Cartwright's Constitutional Society
1781	Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown
1782	Prime Minister Rockingham (Whig)
	Prime Minister Shelburne (King's Friends and Chathamites)
	Burke's Economic Reform Bill enacted
1783	Coalition of North and Fox (Tories and Whigs)
	Prime Minister Pitt (Chathamites and King's Friends, gradually becoming Tory)
	Treaties of Paris and Versailles end war of American Independence
1784	
1785	Cartwright's power loom
	Pitt's proposals for parliamentary reform rejected by his party
	Pitt effected financial reforms
1786	
1787	Pitt opposes the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts
1788	
1789	French Revolution
	Declaration of the Rights of Man
1790	Burke's *Reflections . . .*

1791	Paine's *Rights of Man I*
	Loyalist Birmingham and Manchester Riots
1792	*Paine's Rights of Man II*
	Loyalist Birmingham and Manchester Riots
	London Corresponding Society
	Grey's motion for parliamentary reform rejected by H. of C.
1793	Godwin's *Political Justice*
	War with France begins
	Louis XVI executed
	France declares War on England
	Muir and Palmer transported
1794	Conservative Whigs join Pitt's Ministry
	Trials and acquittal of Hardy, Tooke
	Habeas Corpus suspended
	Poor harvest
	British troops driven out of Netherlands
1795	Seditious Meetings and Treason Acts
	Poor harvest
	Speenhamland poor relief system
1796	Napoleon conquers Italy and English evacuate Mediterranean
1797	Mutiny at Nore
1798	Irish Rebellion
	Malthus' *Essay on Population*
	Nelson defeats Napoleon's fleet and reoccupies Mediterranean waters
1799	Pitt's Combination Act rendered trade unionism illegal
	Reform societies suppressed by acts of Parliament
	Freedom of press limited
1800	2nd Combination Act
	Act of Union with Ireland
1801	Prime Minister Addington (Tory)
1802	Treaty of Amiens ends war between England and France
	Health and Morals of Apprentices Act
	Cobbett's *Register*
1803	English resume war with France
1804	Pitt's Second Ministry (Tory)
1805	Nelson defeats French fleet off Cape Trafalgar
1806	Ministry of All-the-Talents (Whigs and Tories)
	Pitt dies (Jan.)
	Napoleon's Berlin Decree declares British Isles to be blockaded
	Fox dies (Sept.)
1807	Prime Minister Portland (Tory)
	Slave trade abolished
	Milan Decree declares that neutral vessels calling in England are liable to seizure
1808	Minimum wage bill defeated
	England begins Peninsular war with Spain
1809	Prime Minister Perceval (Tory)
1810	General strike of Durham and Northumberland miners
1811	Prince of Wales becomes Regent
	Luddite disturbances

1812	Prime Minister Liverpool (Tory), becoming more liberal in policy after 1822
	United States rebels against English blockade and declares war
	Napoleon's Russian campaign fails
	Luddite disturbances
1813	East India Company's monopoly ended
	Repeal of Statute of Artificers
	Owen's *New View of Society*
1814	Wellington enters France via the Pyrenees and the allies cross the Rhine
	English defeated at New Orleans, Treaty of Ghent ends war with U.S.
1815	Napoleon returns to France, declares war, and is defeated by Wellington
	Treaties of Vienna establishes settlement
	Corn Law
1816	Income tax dropped
	Acute distress
	East Anglian Agricultural Riots
	Poor harvests
	Spa Fields Riots
1817	Blanketeer's March
	Derbyshire "Insurrection"
	Sidmouth's Gagging Acts
	Poor harvest
	Habeas Corpus suspended
	Poor Law Report
1818	Improvement in trade
	Lancashire strikes
1819	Peterloo Massacre
	Six Acts
	First Factory Act
1820	Coronation of George IV
	Cato Street Conspiracy to murder Cabinet disclosed
1821	Owen's *Report to the County of Lanark*
	London Co-operative Societies
1822	East Anglian Agricultural Riots
1823	O'Connell forms Catholic Association in Ireland
1824	Combination Acts repealed
1825	Financial crisis
	Government suppress Catholic Association
1826	Lancashire power loom riots
1827	Prime Minister Canning (Liberal Tory)
	Prime Minister Goderich (Liberal Tory)
1828	Prime Minister Wellington-Peel (Tory)
	Test and Corporation Acts repealed
1829	Catholic Emancipation Act passed
	Peel's London police force eatablished
1830	Prime Minister Grey (Whig)
	Coronation of William IV
	July Revolution in Paris
	National Association for the Protection of Labour

1830	Agricultural Labourers' Riot
1831	Bristol and Nottingham Riots
	National Union of the Working Classes
1832	Reform Bill passed